



3 1761 11557487 3



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
University of Toronto

<https://archive.org/details/31761115574873>

CA1
HW700
- P56

Government
Publications

(41)

Poverty Profile 1997

A Report by the
National Council of Welfare



Autumn 1999

Canada

INTRODUCTION	1
I. MILESTONES AND TRENDS	9
II. SPENDING PRIORITY REPORT	9
Poverty Trends for Families and Children	9
Poverty Trends for Families and Children, 1997	13
III. VIEW FROM THE PROVINCES	19
IV. SPENDING ON POVERTY IN 1997	29
V. DEPTH OF POVERTY	35
VI. POOR NEIGHBOURHOODS	39
Poverty in Neighbourhoods	39
Advanced Statistics on Poor Neighborhoods	43
VII. SPREADING POVERTY	47
VIII. A CLOSER LOOK AT CHILDREN IN 1997	57
The Lowest Paid Workers and Their Families	57
Children in Families with Low Income	61
Women, Work and Child Poverty	65
Family Income and Child Poverty	69
APPENDIX A: POVERTY DATA FOR 1995 AND 1998	107
APPENDIX B: RECENT PAYROLL TAX CUTS	109
APPENDIX C: INCOMES AND POVERTY OVER TIME	113
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	117

Copies of this publication may be obtained from:

National Council of Welfare
2nd Floor, 1010 Somerset Street West
Ottawa K1A 0J9
(613) 957-2961
FAX: (613) 957-0680
E-MAIL: ncw@magi.com
Internet Site: www.ncwcnbes.net

Également disponible en français sous le titre:

Profil de la pauvreté, 1997

© Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada 1999
Cat. No. H67-1/4-1997E
ISBN 0-662-28310-4

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION	1
I. METHODOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS	3
II. RECENT POVERTY TRENDS	9
Poverty Trends for Individual Canadians	9
Poverty Trends for Families and Unattached Individuals	15
III. VIEW FROM THE PROVINCES	23
IV. SNAPSHOT OF POVERTY IN 1997	35
Family Type	35
Additional Differences by Age, Gender and Family Type	37
Work Activity	41
Number and Age of Children	44
Education	46
Homeowners and Renters	50
Year of Immigration	51
Area of Residence	52
V. DEPTH OF POVERTY AND THE POVERTY GAP	54
VI. POOR CANADIANS AND THEIR SOURCES OF INCOME	65
Senior Couples and Unattached Individuals	68
Families and Unattached Individuals under 65	70
VII. DURATION OF POVERTY	80
VIII. A CLOSER LOOK AT GROUPS OF SPECIAL INTEREST	85
The Low-Wage Poor	85
Children	89
Women	98
Seniors	101
CONCLUSION	107
APPENDIX A: POVERTY LINES FOR 1998 AND 1999	109
APPENDIX B: REGIONAL POVERTY STATISTICS, 1997	110
APPENDIX C: INCOMES OF POOR PEOPLE OVER TIME	112
ENDNOTES	115

INTRODUCTION

Poverty continued to haunt Canada in 1997. Although many of the poverty rates were down a bit, far too many people were poor, and a shocking number of people were living many thousands of dollars below the poverty line.

A total of 5.1 million people or 17.2 percent of the children, women and men in Canada were poor in 1997. That represented a very slight improvement over the poverty figures for 1996, but it was a dismal showing for a wealthy country that was in its sixth consecutive year of economic growth. The comparable figures for 1989, the last full year before the last recession, were 3.5 million poor people and a poverty rate of 13.6 percent.

The 1997 version of Poverty Profile reflects continuing problems with the labour market and also with income support programs for people under age 65. It is now crystal clear that people on the low end of the income scale are being cut off from the economic prosperity that most other people are enjoying. It is also crystal clear that most governments are not yet prepared to address these problems seriously, nor are they prepared to ensure a reasonable level of support for low-income people either inside or outside of the paid labour force.

Some of the statistics are nothing less than appalling:

- Most poor people live thousands of dollars below the poverty line. In fact, the number of people living at less than 50 percent of the poverty line has grown dramatically in recent years, from 143,000 families and 287,000 unattached individuals in 1989 to 277,000 families and 456,000 unattached individuals in 1997.
- Poverty rates for single-parent mothers and their children remain shockingly high, a sad testimony to the 1989 House of Commons resolution to eliminate child poverty by the turn of the century. The overall poverty rate for single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 was 57.1 percent in 1997, and the rate for families led by single-parent mothers under 25 was 93.3 percent.
- People under age 25 have seen their poverty rates shoot up in the 1990s from rates that were already too high. The poverty rate for families with heads under age 25 went from

28 percent in 1989 to 43.6 percent in 1997, and the rate for unattached individuals under 25 went from 47.8 percent in 1989 to 58.2 percent in 1997.

As in previous years, the only real bright spot was the poverty statistics for seniors. The poverty rate for people 65 and older fell to a near-record low of 17 percent in 1997. However, the poverty rate for unattached women 65 and older was 42 percent, one of the higher rates for any family type.

Poverty Profile 1997 is the latest annual report by the National Council of Welfare based on factual material compiled by Statistics Canada. It includes numerous statistics for 1997 and poverty trends dating back to 1980. As in the past, the report is an analysis of the facts rather than a blueprint for eliminating poverty, and it contains no specific recommendations as such. The National Council of Welfare has published many other reports over the years that are full of proposals for combatting poverty. The most recent was Children First, a pre-budget report looking ahead to the next federal budget that contains 29 recommendations for fighting child and family poverty and improving the lives of all children in Canada.

Most of the data in Poverty Profile cover poverty for one year only. They do not tell us how many of the people who were poor in 1997 were also poor in previous years or how long they were likely to remain poor. Fortunately, Statistics Canada is now producing poverty data that provide new insights into the dynamics of poverty over longer periods of time. Chapter VII on the duration of poverty features data that cover the entire period from 1993 through 1996.

The National Council of Welfare hopes that this report will shed some light on poverty in Canada, a subject that is much discussed but little understood. Myths and stereotypes about poverty and poor people are deeply rooted in our society. We hope this report will help dispel these misconceptions and spur governments into using all the tools at their disposal to make it possible for all Canadians to share in the great bounty our country has to offer.

I. METHODOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

Every year, Statistics Canada conducts a household survey known as the Survey of Consumer Finances to obtain information on the distribution of income and the nature and extent of poverty in Canada. The survey on which this report is based, conducted in April of 1998, sampled 33,896 private households from all parts of the country except for Yukon, the Northwest Territories, Indian reserves, and institutions such as prisons, mental hospitals, and homes for the elderly. The survey looked at incomes for the 1997 calendar year.

The results were published by Statistics Canada under the title Income Distributions by Size in Canada, 1997. Statistics Canada also provided previously unpublished data to the National Council of Welfare. We are grateful for the assistance provided by officials of the agency, especially Kevin Bishop and Edith Lamoureux of the Income and Housing Surveys Section. The analysis and interpretation of the data, however, is the responsibility of the National Council of Welfare, not Statistics Canada.

Information about poverty is obtained by comparing the survey data with the low income cut-offs or LICOs of Statistics Canada. The LICOs represent levels of gross income where people spend disproportionate amounts of money for food, shelter and clothing. Statistics Canada has decided over the years - somewhat arbitrarily - that 20 percentage points is a reasonable measure of the additional burden. The average Canadian family spent 36.2 percent of gross income on food, shelter and clothing according to 1986 data on spending patterns, so it was assumed that low-income Canadians spent 56.2 percent or more on the necessities of life.

The low income cut-offs vary by the size of the family unit and the population of the area of residence. There are seven categories of family size, from one person to seven or more persons, and five community sizes ranging from rural areas to cities with 500,000 or more residents. The result is a set of 35 cut-offs. The cut-offs are updated annually by Statistics Canada using the Consumer Price Index.

The cut-offs used in this report for the year 1997 are technically known as 1986 base LICOs, because of the year in which spending on food, shelter and clothing was surveyed. The

entire set of 35 cut-offs for 1997 appears below as Table 1. Comparable cut-offs for 1998 and the National Council of Welfare's estimates of the cut-offs for 1999 appear in Appendix A.

TABLE 1

STATISTICS CANADA'S LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS (1986 BASE) FOR 1997

Family Size	Community Size				
	Cities of 500,000+	100,000-499,999	30,000-99,999	Less than 30,000	Rural Areas
1	16,320	14,335	14,004	12,766	11,110
2	22,121	19,432	18,982	17,302	15,062
3	28,119	24,700	24,128	21,994	19,143
4	32,377	28,434	27,780	25,325	22,040
5	35,373	31,068	30,351	27,668	24,082
6	38,397	34,721	32,944	30,031	26,140
7+	41,297	36,273	35,435	32,303	28,115

Over the years, Statistics Canada has published several other sets of low income cut-offs, and it started using 1992 base cut-offs as its preferred measure in Income Distributions by Size in Canada, 1992. Readers are cautioned that the poverty statistics in this report using the 1986 base cut-offs differ slightly from reports using the 1992 base cut-offs.¹

For the time being, the National Council of Welfare plans to continue using the 1986 base cut-offs. Other recent reports published by the Council use the 1986 base cut-offs, and a switch in base years could be confusing to readers.

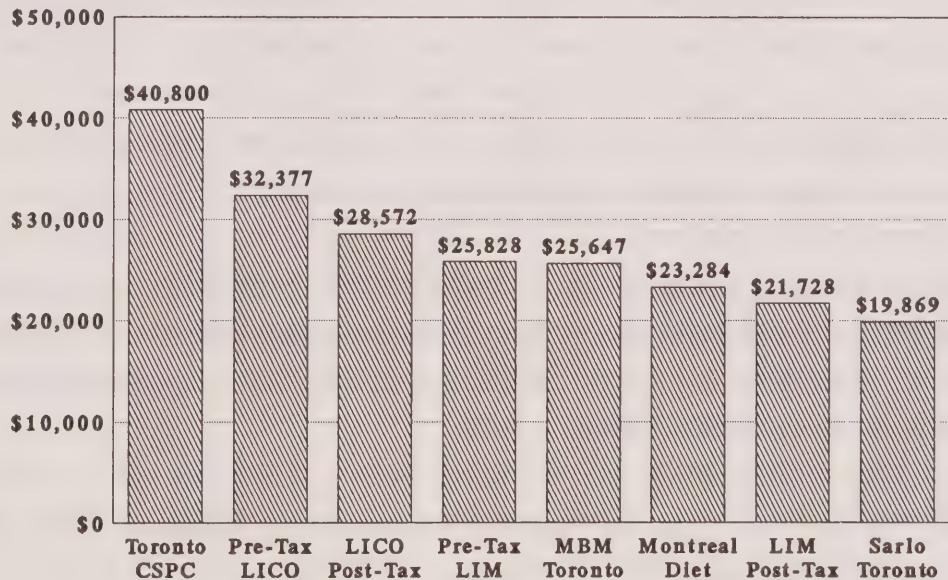
The National Council of Welfare and many other social policy groups regard the LICOs as poverty lines and use the term poor and low-income interchangeably. Statistics Canada takes

pains to avoid references to poverty. It says the cut-offs have no official status, and it does not promote their use as poverty lines.

Regardless of the terminology, the cut-offs are a useful tool for defining and analyzing the significantly large portion of the Canadian population with low incomes. They are not the only measures of poverty used in Canada, but they are the most widely accepted and are roughly comparable to most alternative measures.

Graph A shows eight alternative measures of poverty, two versions of the low-income cut-offs of Statistics Canada (1986 base) and six other lines sometimes seen in other published reports on poverty.²

Poverty Lines for a Family of Four Living in a Large City, 1997



Graph A

Toronto CSPC, the description of the first bar in Graph A, refers to the budget guides of the Community Social Planning Council of Toronto, formerly the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. The original calculation was updated to 1997 by the National Council of Welfare using the Consumer Price Index.

The next two bars represent two different versions of the low income cut-offs of Statistics Canada. The pre-tax LICO takes account of income from government transfer payments to individuals, but not federal, provincial or territorial income taxes. The post-tax LICO includes both government transfers and income taxes, but no other kinds of taxes.

Some people argue that the post-tax LICOs are a better measure because they feature income that is closer to disposable income than pre-tax LICOs. That may be true at the upper end of the income spectrum, but it certainly is not true at the lower end. According to the latest data from Statistics Canada, only 32 percent of poor families and 27 percent of poor unattached individuals paid income taxes in 1997.

Pre-tax LIM and LIM post-tax refer to the low income measures of Statistics Canada, measures which are both based on one-half of median family income. LIMs vary with family size and composition, but they are the same in all parts of the country. They reflect the reality of higher costs of living in large cities and lower costs of living in rural areas. For that reason, they are always substantially lower than LICOs. The two sets of LIMs are the only lines in Graph A that do not vary from place to place in Canada.

One-half of median family income adjusted for family size is the approach most often used in international comparisons of poverty. LIMs and similar measures provide interesting comparisons at a given point in time, but they tend to be "flat" over time and do not track well against the ups and downs of the economic cycle.

MBM Toronto stands for the market basket measures being developed by Human Resources Development Canada for the federal, provincial and territorial governments. The MBMs are very loosely based on the cost of buying a basket of goods and services in the local marketplace. The bar in Table A is for a family living in Toronto. The figure was updated to 1997 by the National Council of Welfare, but it does not reflect changes in methodology that were made after 1996.

Montreal Diet refers to the income needed for a minimum adequate standard of living for a two-earner couple with a 15-year-old son and a ten-year-old daughter in Montreal as calculated by the Montreal Diet Dispensary and updated by the National Council of Welfare. The group also has basic needs guidelines strictly intended for short-term assistance that are somewhat lower.

Sarlo Toronto is the poverty line for Toronto calculated by Christopher A. Sarlo and updated to 1997 by the National Council of Welfare. Professor Sarlo also has "social comfort lines" that are twice as high as his poverty lines.

Poverty statistics are often broken down according to families and unattached individuals. The survey which gathered the data defined a family as a group of individuals sharing a common dwelling unit and related by blood, marriage or adoption. The definition includes couples living in common-law relationships. Most of the data in this report is expressed in terms of families rather than the number of people in family units. Unattached individuals are defined as people living alone or in households where they are not related to other household members.

A poor or low-income family has an income below the poverty line, while a "non-poor" family has an income above the poverty line. The same applies for unattached individuals.

Poverty rates compare the number of poor persons, families or unattached individuals in a particular category to all the persons, families or unattached individuals in the same category. For example, there were an estimated 340,000 poor families with children under 18 headed by a female single parent under age 65 in 1997. The estimated total number of families with children under 18 headed by a female single parent under 65 was 596,000. The poverty rate was 340,000 divided by 596,000 or 57.1 percent.

Sometimes, the terms incidence of poverty or risk of poverty are used instead of the poverty rate. The meaning of all three terms is the same.

Income refers to money income reported by all family members 15 years or older and includes gross wages and salaries, net income from self-employment, investment income, government transfer payments (for example, the federal Child Tax Benefit, Old Age Security, and provincial tax credits), pensions, and miscellaneous income (scholarships and child support

payments, for example). The definition of income excludes gambling wins or losses, capital gains or losses, receipts from the sale of property or personal belongings, income tax refunds, loans received or repaid, lump sum settlements of insurance policies, and income in kind.

Some sections of this report refer to earnings rather than income. Earnings means gross wages and salaries and net income from self-employment.

Statistics Canada revised its low income data for the period 1980 through 1993 in the 1994 version of Income Distributions by Size in Canada. The revisions included shifting population estimates to the 1991 census base, adjusting the estimates to correct under coverage, and including non-permanent residents physically present in Canada.

The National Council of Welfare decided as a general rule to continue using the data for earlier years as originally published. The revisions have very little effect on rates of poverty, but they tend to add slightly to the number of people living in poverty. Poverty data based on the revised Statistics Canada weights are used in a few instances in this report, and these exceptions are noted in the endnotes.

II. RECENT POVERTY TRENDS

Most poverty rates dipped slightly in 1997, but remained at unacceptably high levels. Of particular concern were poverty rates for younger people, rates which remained very high by historic standards despite marked improvements in the economy overall in recent years.

The year 1997 was the sixth consecutive year of economic growth following the recession of 1990-1991, but poverty rates for people under age 65 all were substantially higher than they were in the years immediately preceding the recession. The poverty rate for couples under 65 who had no children under 18 actually rose to an 18-year high in 1997. Most other rates were down a bit, but were well above the comparable rates for 1989.

Meanwhile, poverty rates among seniors continued their downward decline. The rate for unattached women 65 and older hit a record low in 1997.

This chapter shows the major national trends in poverty from 1980 through 1997 using two types of measures. The first looks at Canadians as individuals regardless of their family circumstances, and the other looks at people by family type or as unattached individuals living outside families.

Poverty Trends for Individual Canadians

One type of poverty statistics published by Statistics Canada treats people as individuals, as in Table 2 on the next page. For each year from 1980 through 1997, the table shows the number of poor people, the total population and the poverty rate.

In 1980, just over 3.6 million of Canada's 23.7 million people were poor, and the poverty rate was 15.3 percent. Both the number of poor people and the poverty rate rose following the recession of 1981-1982, declined slowly through 1989, and rose again with the recession of 1990-1991. Meanwhile, the population as a whole continued growing steadily.

TABLE 2
POVERTY TRENDS, ALL PERSONS

	Poor Persons	All Persons	Poverty Rate
1980	3,624,000	23,626,000	15.3%
1981	3,643,000	23,814,000	15.3%
1982	3,951,000	24,021,000	16.4%
1983	4,406,000	24,229,000	18.2%
1984	4,397,000	24,348,000	18.1%
1985	4,170,000	24,535,000	17.0%
1986	3,976,000	24,807,000	16.0%
1987	3,912,000	25,075,000	15.6%
1988	3,744,000	25,348,000	14.8%
1989	3,487,000	25,729,000	13.6%
1990	3,821,000	26,099,000	14.6%
1991	4,227,000	26,495,000	16.0%
1992	4,320,000	26,901,000	16.1%
1993	4,775,000	27,398,000	17.4%
1994	4,795,000	28,867,000	16.6%
1995	5,070,000	29,193,000	17.4%
1996	5,190,000	29,542,000	17.6%
1997	5,121,000	29,846,000	17.2%

Both the number of poor people and the poverty rates got stuck at relatively high levels during the 1990s. The number of poor people in 1997 was a near-record 5.1 million, and the poverty rate was 17.2 percent. Both those figures were substantially higher than the comparable figures for the years immediately preceding the last recession.

Similar trends were evident in the child poverty statistics shown in Table 3, except that the total number of children under 18 grew very little over the years.

TABLE 3
POVERTY TRENDS, CHILDREN UNDER 18

	Poor Children	All Children	Poverty Rate
1980	984,000	6,619,000	14.9%
1981	998,000	6,552,000	15.2%
1982	1,155,000	6,476,000	17.8%
1983	1,221,000	6,437,000	19.0%
1984	1,253,000	6,377,000	19.6%
1985	1,165,000	6,361,000	18.3%
1986	1,086,000	6,390,000	17.0%
1987	1,057,000	6,380,000	16.6%
1988	987,000	6,395,000	15.4%
1989	934,000	6,438,000	14.5%
1990	1,105,000	6,522,000	16.9%
1991	1,210,000	6,606,000	18.3%
1992	1,218,000	6,704,000	18.2%
1993	1,415,000	6,799,000	20.8%
1994	1,334,000	6,997,000	19.1%
1995	1,441,000	7,011,000	20.5%
1996	1,481,000	7,093,000	20.9%
1997	1,384,000	7,053,000	19.6%

The number of children living in poverty and the child poverty rate first peaked in 1984 in the aftermath of the recession of 1981-1982 and declined for the rest of the 1980s. When the House of Commons unanimously passed a resolution in 1989 to work to eliminate child poverty by the year 2000, the number of poor children was 934,000 and the child poverty rate was 14.5 percent.

The recession of 1990-1991 drove the figures up once again. They finally peaked in 1996, when nearly 1.5 million children were living in poverty and the child poverty rate was 20.9 percent. The figures were down in 1997 to 1.4 million poor children and a poverty rate of 19.6 percent.

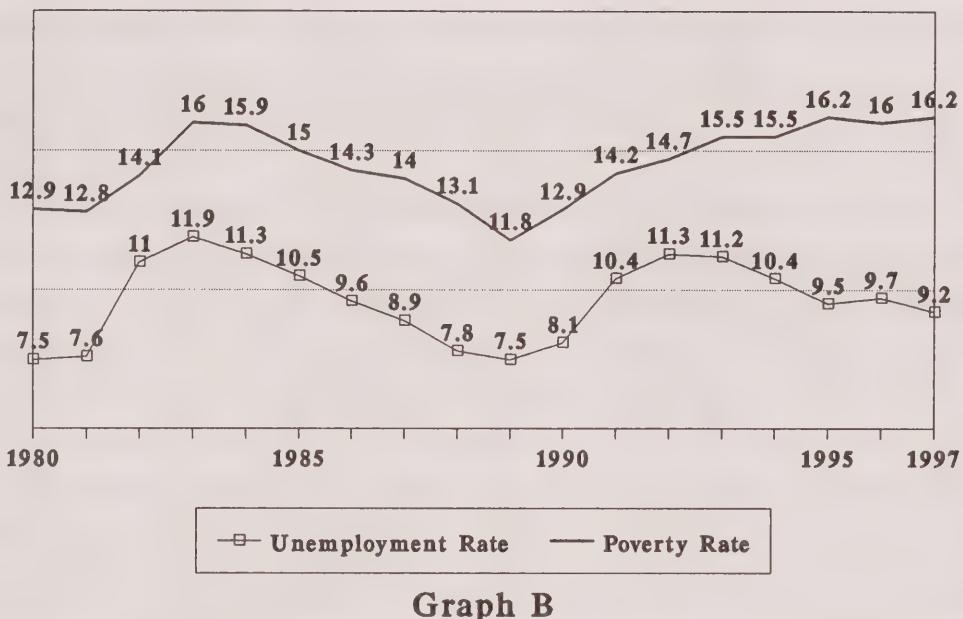
Additional information on child poverty by family type and provincial child poverty statistics appear later in this report.

Children are poor because their parents are poor, and one of the main reasons for poverty among parents is a lack of good jobs. It should come as no surprise that the poverty rates for adults under age 65 tend to move up and down in line with changes in the unemployment rate. However, the link has become much weaker in recent years.

Graph B on the next page plots the average annual unemployment rate for people 15 and older against the poverty rate for people ages 18 to 65, the group most likely to be in the labour force. In 1997, the unemployment rate was 9.2 percent and the poverty rate was 16.2 percent.

Since 1980, the poverty rate for people 18 to 65 was normally three to five percentage points higher than the unemployment rate. The only three years that the gap exceeded six percentage points were 1995, 1996 and 1997. This adds weight to the concern that the current cycle of economic growth is bypassing many people at the lower end of the income scale.

Unemployment and Poverty Among Working-Age People



One group that is largely immune from high unemployment rates is seniors, because most seniors are not in the labour force. The poverty rates for people 65 and older are more a reflection of the health of public and private pension programs than the health of the economy.

As Table 4 on the next page shows, the total number of seniors in Canada increased by 63 percent, from fewer than 2.2 million in 1980 to more than 3.5 million in 1997. Meanwhile, the number of seniors who lived in poverty actually fell more or less steadily from 731,000 in 1980 to 602,000 in 1997. The poverty rate of 33.6 percent in 1980 was down sharply to 17 percent in 1997, a reduction of close to 50 percent. The 1997 rate was a near-record low, second only to the rate of 16.9 percent recorded in 1995.

TABLE 4
POVERTY TRENDS, PEOPLE 65 AND OLDER

	Poor Seniors	All Seniors	Poverty Rate
1980	731,000	2,177,000	33.6%
1981	733,000	2,223,000	33.0%
1982	648,000	2,272,000	28.5%
1983	719,000	2,324,000	30.9%
1984	669,000	2,397,000	27.9%
1985	669,000	2,473,000	27.0%
1986	637,000	2,557,000	24.9%
1987	627,000	2,635,000	23.8%
1988	634,000	2,710,000	23.4%
1989	599,000	2,793,000	21.4%
1990	554,000	2,873,000	19.3%
1991	590,000	2,950,000	20.0%
1992	564,000	3,027,000	18.6%
1993	636,000	3,100,000	20.5%
1994	567,000	3,297,000	17.2%
1995	572,000	3,379,000	16.9%
1996	655,000	3,465,000	18.9%
1997	602,000	3,545,000	17.0%

The improvement in the lives of seniors did not happen by accident. It was the direct result of government programs and policies dating back to the 1960s. Among the more important steps forward were the creation of the federal government's Guaranteed Income Supplement in 1967 for low-income seniors and the creation of the Canada Pension Plan and

Quebec Pension Plan in 1966. The Canada Pension Plan was the result of co-operation between the federal and provincial governments to make sure workers put away a modest amount of money every year for their retirement. The CPP still operates as a partnership between the two levels of government.

Poverty Trends for Families and Unattached Individuals

While the poverty statistics for all persons give a good overview of poverty, it is often more revealing to look at poor people in terms of families or unattached individuals, as in Table 5 on the next page. Poverty rates for unattached people are normally 2½ to three times higher than the rates for families. In 1997, the poverty rate for unattached individuals was 36.3 percent and the rate for families was 14.3 percent for a ratio of 2.54 to one.

One reason that families have poverty rates that are consistently much lower than unattached individuals is they often have a second family member in the paid labour force. The percentage of younger married couples with both spouses in the work force has grown dramatically during the last generation, and two-earner couples now far outnumber one-earner couples. Many older couples are made up spouses who both had careers outside the home and who both get pension benefits aside from the federal government's Old Age Security pension.

TABLE 5

POVERTY TRENDS, FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS

	Families		Unattached Individuals	
	Number of Poor Families	Poverty Rate	Number of Poor Unattached	Poverty Rate
1980	830,000	13.2%	1,013,000	41.4%
1981	832,000	13.0%	1,010,000	40.3%
1982	905,000	14.0%	1,034,000	40.2%
1983	1,007,000	15.3%	1,183,000	44.9%
1984	1,032,000	15.6%	1,118,000	41.3%
1985	963,000	14.3%	1,136,000	40.8%
1986	924,000	13.6%	1,112,000	38.3%
1987	895,000	13.1%	1,137,000	37.5%
1988	851,000	12.2%	1,172,000	37.7%
1989	786,000	11.1%	1,100,000	34.4%
1990	874,000	12.1%	1,123,000	34.1%
1991	949,000	13.1%	1,258,000	36.5%
1992	991,000	13.3%	1,247,000	36.2%
1993	1,116,000	14.8%	1,306,000	37.1%
1994	1,108,000	13.7%	1,421,000	37.0%
1995	1,187,000	14.4%	1,399,000	36.1%
1996	1,230,000	14.8%	1,457,000	37.0%
1997	1,203,000	14.3%	1,496,000	36.3%

An even better view of poverty comes by breaking down families and unattached individuals into their major subcategories - which we call family types for want of a better term.

The four main subcategories of families are: married couples where the head of the family is 65 or older, married couples under 65 with children under 18, married couples under 65 without children under 18, and single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. Altogether, these four subcategories accounted for 82 percent of all poor families in 1997. The other 18 percent was made up of less common family types, such as married couples living with children who were all 18 or older, single-parent fathers and their children, and brothers and sisters who lived together.

The four subcategories of unattached individuals are: unattached men under 65, unattached men 65 and older, unattached women under 65, and unattached women 65 and older. Together, they account for 100 percent of unattached individuals.

The importance of a second wage-earner or second source of pension income becomes obvious from the poverty statistics for the four subcategories of families shown in Table 6 and Table 7 on the pages that follow. The poverty rates for married couples with or without children all were low, and the poverty rates for families headed by single-parent mothers all were high.

Table 6 on the next page has the poverty statistics for couples under 65 with children under 18 on the left-hand side and the figures for single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 on the right-hand side.

The number of poor couples with children and the poverty rate rose and fell with the overall state of the economy from 1980 through the early 1990s before they both got stuck at relatively high levels. There were 375,000 poor couples under 65 with children under 18 in 1997, and the poverty rate was 11.9 percent.

The total number of couples with children, both poor and non-poor couples, barely changed at all in nearly two decades. Meanwhile, the total number of single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 nearly doubled from 318,000 in 1980 to 596,000 in 1997. The increase was obviously the result of the increasing number of marriages that were breaking down.

TABLE 6

COUPLES AND SINGLE-PARENT MOTHERS UNDER 65 WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18

	Poor Couples under 65 with Children	All Couples under 65 with Children	Poverty Rate	Poor Single-Parent Mothers under 65	All Single-Parent Mothers under 65	Poverty Rate
1980	286,000	3,040,000	9.4%	183,000	318,000	57.7%
1981	294,000	3,031,000	9.7%	168,000	306,000	54.8%
1982	337,000	2,993,000	11.3%	208,000	342,000	60.9%
1983	369,000	2,996,000	12.3%	218,000	353,000	61.7%
1984	370,000	2,933,000	12.6%	233,000	372,000	62.8%
1985	334,000	2,950,000	11.3%	227,000	362,000	62.5%
1986	319,000	2,968,000	10.8%	208,000	354,000	58.8%
1987	298,000	2,938,000	10.1%	216,000	366,000	59.0%
1988	264,000	2,967,000	8.9%	221,000	390,000	56.7%
1989	254,000	2,979,000	8.5%	207,000	393,000	52.9%
1990	285,000	2,973,000	9.6%	255,000	421,000	60.6%
1991	318,000	2,973,000	10.7%	272,000	440,000	61.9%
1992	301,000	2,988,000	10.1%	303,000	520,000	58.4%
1993	375,000	3,025,000	12.4%	323,000	540,000	59.8%
1994	349,000	3,091,000	11.3%	317,000	554,000	57.3%
1995	394,000	3,134,000	12.6%	323,000	565,000	57.2%
1996	370,000	3,118,000	11.9%	379,000	618,000	61.4%
1997	375,000	3,139,000	11.9%	340,000	596,000	57.1%

The rise in single parenthood was matched by the rise in the poverty statistics for single-parent mothers. There was a bit of movement up and down that reflected the economic cycles, but the number of poor families headed by single-parent mothers and the poverty rates always bordered on the unconscionable.

Governments were simply not up to the task of addressing chronic poverty among single-parent families, and the rising numbers of single parents meant rising numbers of poor single parents. In 1980, there were 183,000 poor families headed by single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18, and the poverty rate was 57.7 percent. The comparable figures for 1997 were 340,000 poor families and a poverty rate of 57.1 percent.

The patterns of poverty among couples without children in recent years were strikingly different for couples under age 65 and couples 65 and older. Table 7 gives the figures for the years 1980 through 1997.

The total number of couples under 65 without children under 18 rose steadily over the years, and the number of poor couples under 65 without children was also significantly higher in the 1990s than it was in the 1980s. The number of poor couples and poverty rates both moved up and down with the economic cycles before getting stuck at relatively high levels. There were 209,000 poor couples under 65 without children in 1997, and the poverty rate was 10.9 percent. Both figures were highs for the 18 years shown in Table 7.

The total number of couples 65 and older without children also rose strikingly between 1980 and 1997, but the number of poor couples and the poverty rates were down sharply. There were 65,000 poor senior couples in 1997, and the poverty rate was down to seven percent, a rate second only to the low of 6.8 percent in 1994.

TABLE 7

COUPLES UNDER 65 WITHOUT CHILDREN AND COUPLES 65 AND OLDER

	Poor Couples under 65 without Children	All Couples under 65 without Children	Poverty Rate	Poor Couples 65 and Older	All Couples 65 and Older	Poverty Rate
1980	87,000	1,255,000	6.9%	115,000	518,000	22.2%
1981	97,000	1,256,000	7.7%	118,000	532,000	22.1%
1982	119,000	1,297,000	9.2%	81,000	565,000	14.4%
1983	130,000	1,276,000	10.2%	94,000	574,000	16.4%
1984	133,000	1,310,000	10.2%	96,000	586,000	16.3%
1985	120,000	1,354,000	8.9%	102,000	605,000	16.9%
1986	129,000	1,359,000	9.5%	104,000	653,000	15.9%
1987	129,000	1,431,000	9.0%	98,000	657,000	14.9%
1988	119,000	1,468,000	8.1%	91,000	688,000	13.2%
1989	115,000	1,552,000	7.6%	77,000	700,000	11.1%
1990	127,000	1,524,000	8.3%	61,000	723,000	8.5%
1991	141,000	1,523,000	9.3%	66,000	731,000	9.0%
1992	138,000	1,561,000	8.8%	66,000	769,000	8.5%
1993	152,000	1,542,000	9.9%	74,000	763,000	9.7%
1994	182,000	1,883,000	9.7%	60,000	878,000	6.8%
1995	197,000	1,891,000	10.4%	70,000	925,000	7.5%
1996	199,000	1,935,000	10.3%	78,000	908,000	8.6%
1997	209,000	1,908,000	10.9%	65,000	941,000	7.0%

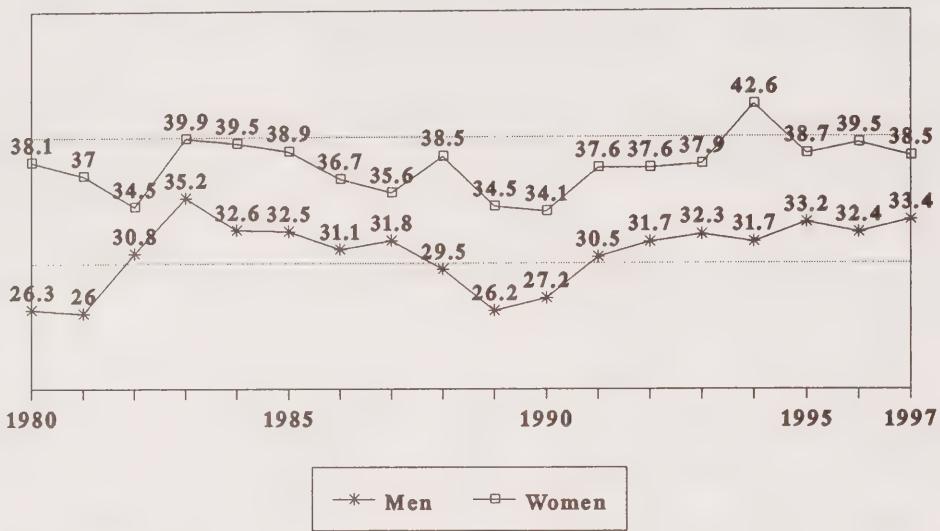
Among unattached people, the poverty statistics vary greatly between women and men and also between seniors and people under 65. All four subcategories have poverty rates that are significantly higher than the rates for married couples, although none of the recent figures is anywhere near the very high rates for families led by single-parent mothers.

Trends in poverty among unattached men and women under 65 and men and women 65 and older are shown in Graphs C-1 and C-2 on the next page. The poverty rates for unattached people under 65 tended to rise and fall with unemployment rates, while the rates for older unattached people fell more or less steadily. In both age groups, the poverty rates were noticeably higher for women than men.

The poverty rate for unattached women under 65 was 38.1 percent in 1980 and 38.5 percent in 1997. The comparable rates for men were 26.3 percent in 1980 and 33.4 percent in 1997. The gap between women and men was largest in 1980 at 11.8 percentage points and smallest in 1982 at 3.7 percentage points.

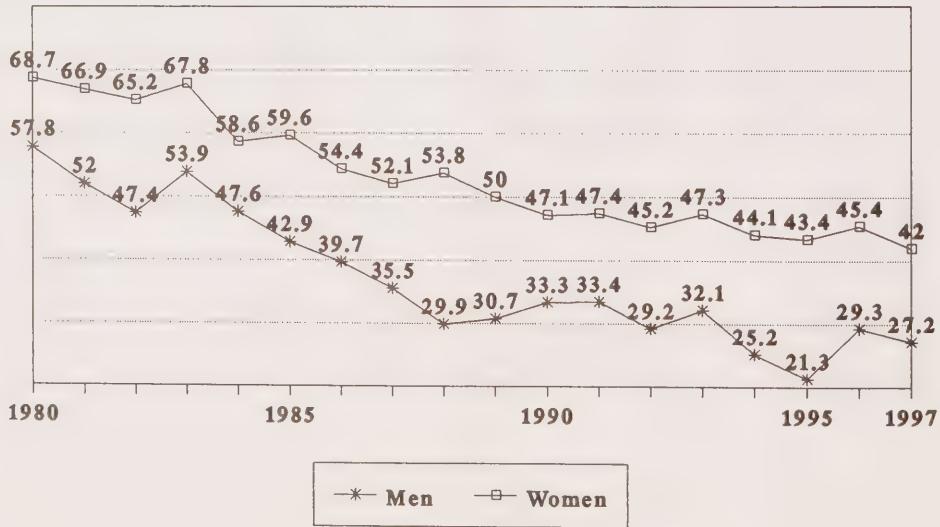
For unattached people 65 and older, the poverty rate for women went from 68.7 percent in 1980 to a record low 42 percent in 1997. The rate for men dropped from 57.8 percent in 1980 to 27.2 percent in 1997. The gap between men and women was smallest at 10.9 percentage points in 1980 and largest at 23.9 points in 1988.

Poverty Rates for Unattached People Under 65



Graph C-1

Poverty Rates for Unattached People 65 and Older



Graph C-2

III. VIEW FROM THE PROVINCES

Unemployment rates, the adequacy of pension programs, and family type are major determinants of poverty in all parts of Canada, but there are important differences from province to province. Table 8 gives the 1997 provincial statistics for families, unattached individuals and all persons. For families, poverty rates ranged from a low of 9.2 percent in Prince Edward Island to a high of 18.9 percent in Newfoundland. The range for unattached individuals was even greater, from 27 percent in Saskatchewan to 45.6 percent in Newfoundland. Poverty rates for all persons went from 12.1 percent in P.E.I. to 20.1 percent in Quebec and 20.3 percent in Newfoundland.

TABLE 8
POVERTY BY PROVINCE, 1997

	Families		Unattached Individuals		All Persons	
	Number of Poor Families	Poverty Rate	Number of Poor Unattached	Poverty Rate	Number of Poor Persons	Poverty Rate
Newfoundland	31,000	18.9	17,000	45.6	112,000	20.3
Prince Edward Island	4,000	9.2	5,000	32.2	16,000	12.1
Nova Scotia	42,000	15.4	41,000	35.5	162,000	17.4
New Brunswick	32,000	14.3	32,000	40.0	125,000	16.8
Quebec	354,000	16.8	477,000	44.4	1,472,000	20.1
Ontario	409,000	13.0	461,000	31.7	1,773,000	15.6
Manitoba	45,000	14.9	62,000	39.5	200,000	18.4
Saskatchewan	36,000	13.1	39,000	27.0	146,000	15.0
Alberta	101,000	12.9	139,000	34.9	438,000	15.5
British Columbia	149,000	14.0	223,000	34.5	676,000	17.4
Canada	1,203,000	14.3	1,496,000	36.3	5,121,000	17.2

Between 1996 and 1997, family poverty rates were down in all provinces except Newfoundland and New Brunswick. The rate in Newfoundland rose from 16.6 percent in 1996 to 18.9 percent in 1997. The rate in New Brunswick went up from 13.8 percent to 14.3 percent.

Among unattached individuals, the poverty rates were down in Quebec, Ontario, Saskatchewan and British Columbia and up in the other six provinces.

The poverty rates for all persons were up in Newfoundland and New Brunswick and down elsewhere. The Newfoundland rate jumped from 17.2 percent to 20.3 percent, while the New Brunswick rate went from 15.8 percent to 16.8 percent.

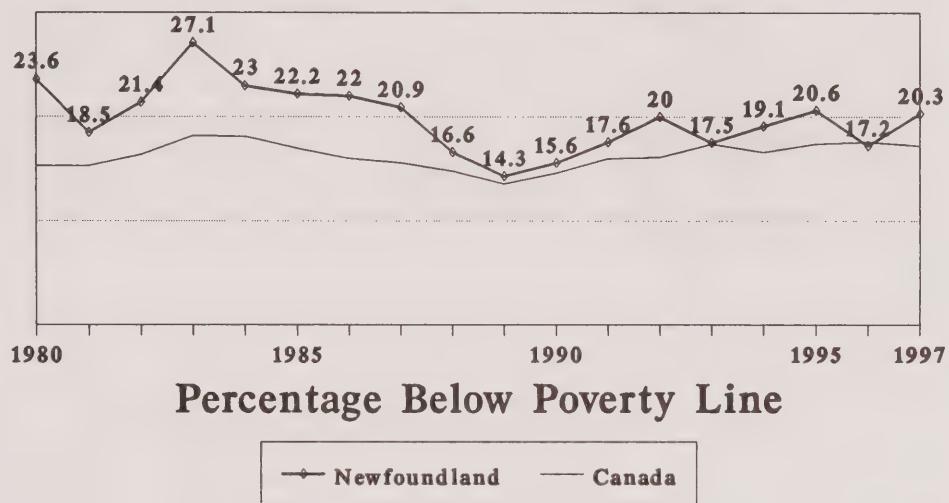
The ten pages that follow contain graphs with detailed information on poverty trends in the provinces. The top half of each page plots provincial poverty rates for all persons from 1980 to 1997. The line with diamond markers and accompanied by percentages shows the provincial rates. For purposes of comparison, each graph includes a second line showing the poverty rates for Canada as a whole. The percentages were omitted from this line to avoid confusion in cases where the two lines are close together.

The bottom half of each page gives the poverty rates for families and unattached individuals from 1980 through 1997. The lines without markers and without percentages show the national trends.

The two largest provinces have the most consistent trends for families, unattached individuals and all persons. Ontario's poverty rates were among the lowest in Canada and were well below the national average throughout the period. Quebec's rates were among the highest and well above average. There was much less consistency elsewhere.

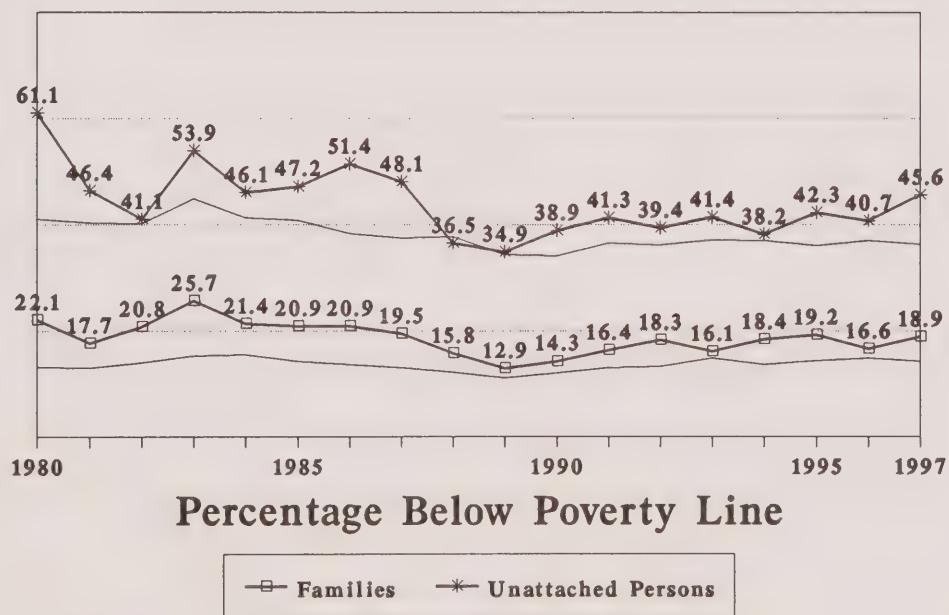
Newfoundland

Trends for All Persons



Graph D-1

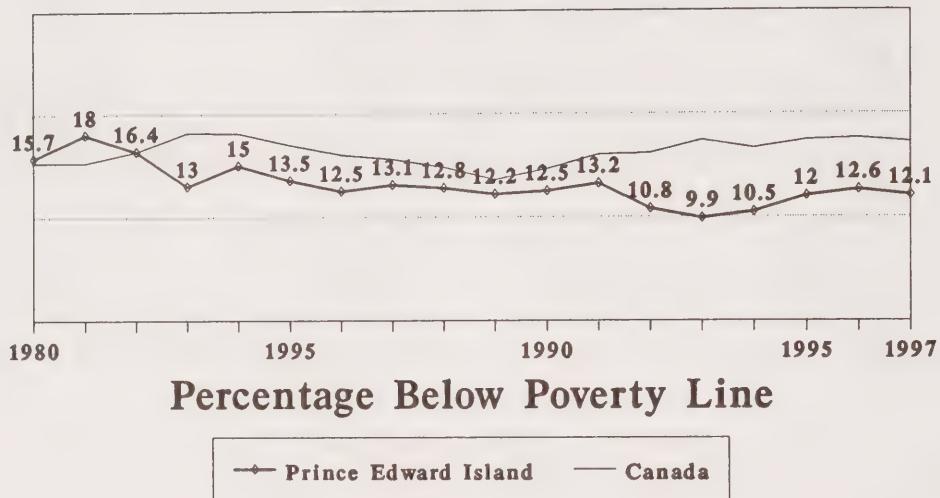
Families and Unattached Individuals



Graph D-2

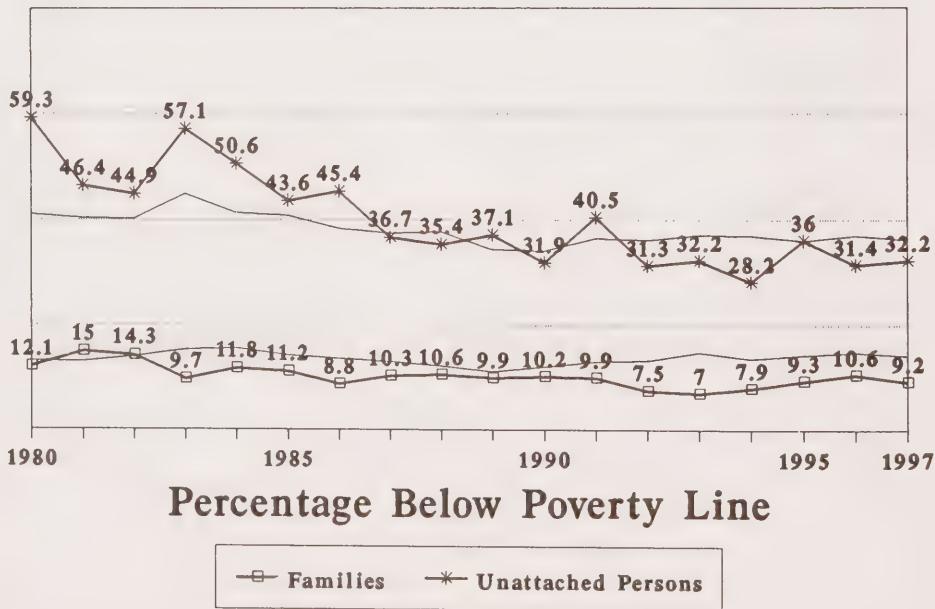
Prince Edward Island

Trends for All Persons



Graph E-1

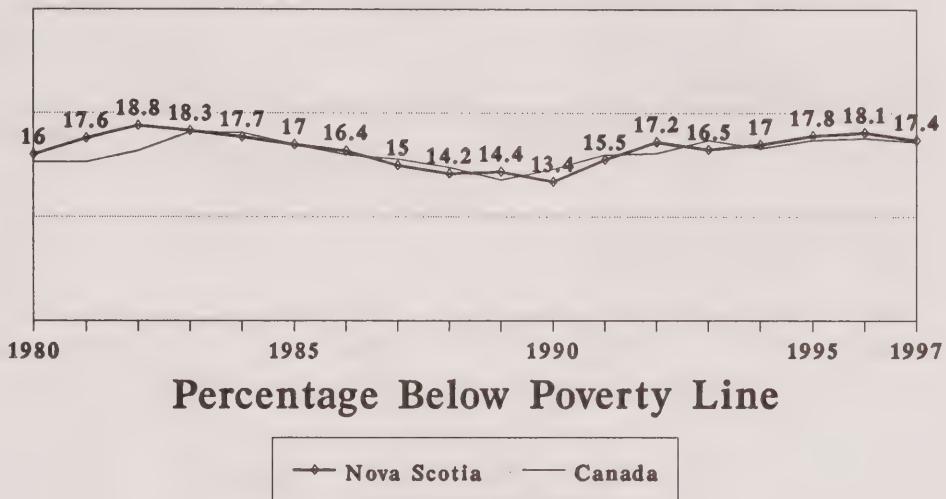
Families and Unattached Individuals



Graph E-2

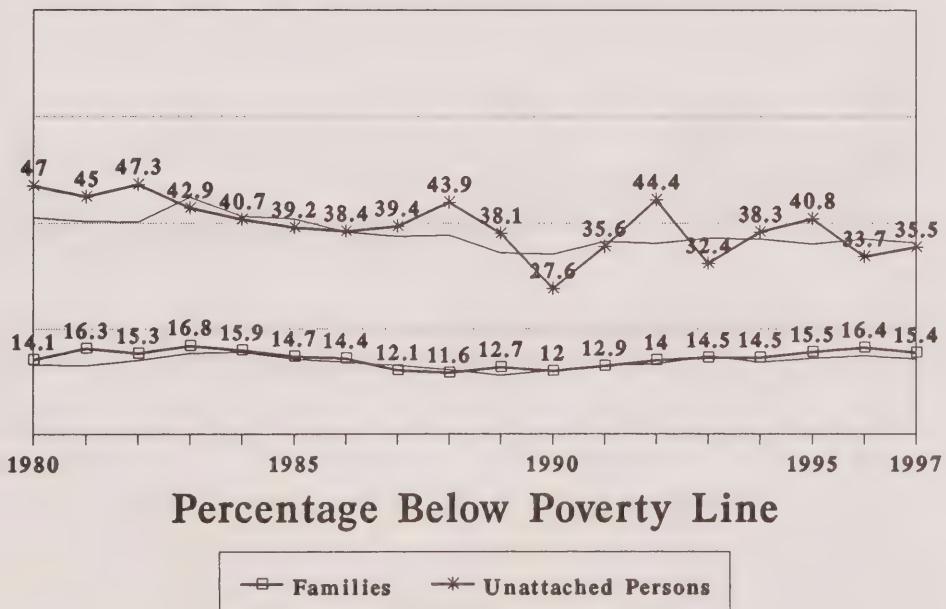
Nova Scotia

Trends for All Persons



Graph F-1

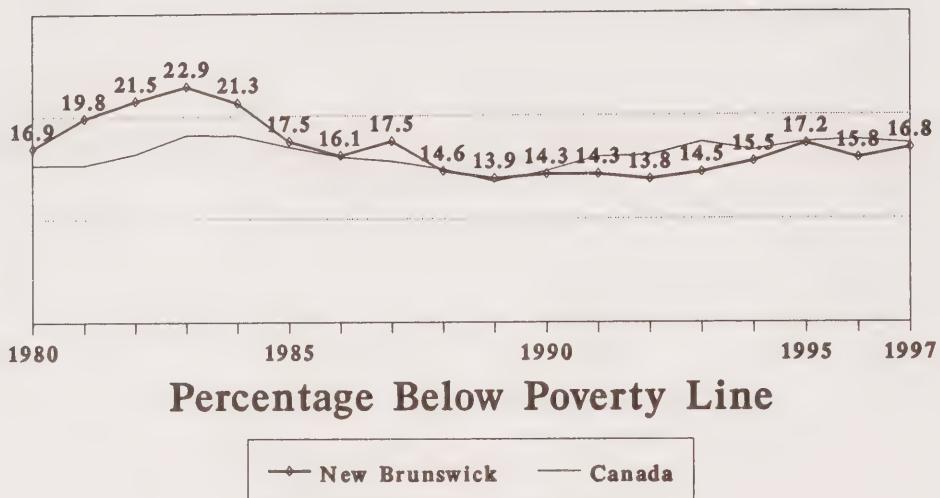
Families and Unattached Individuals



Graph F-2

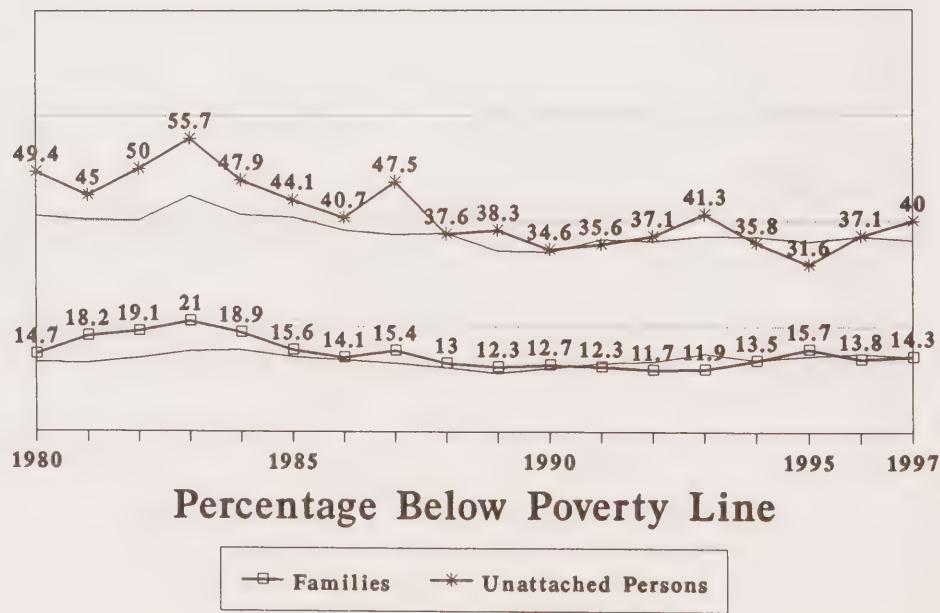
New Brunswick

Trends for All Persons



Graph G-1

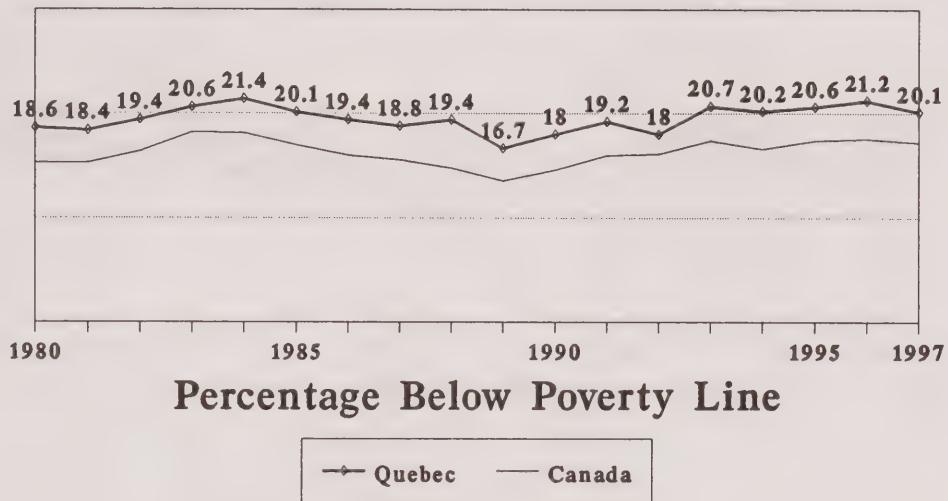
Families and Unattached Individuals



Graph G-2

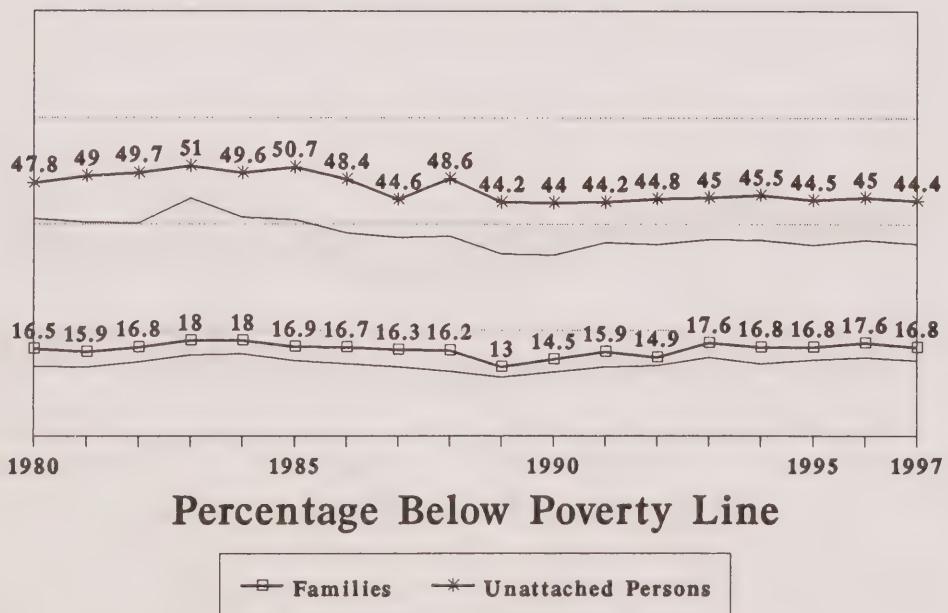
Quebec

Trends for All Persons



Graph H-1

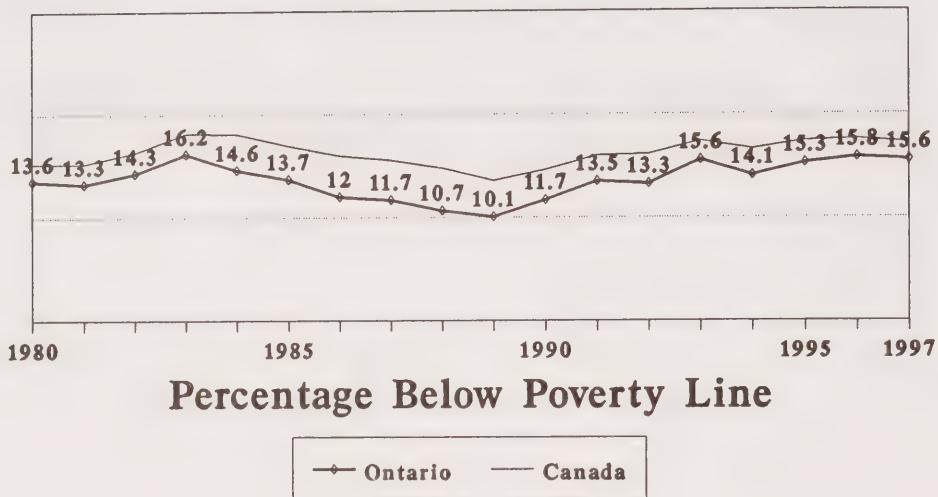
Families and Unattached Individuals



Graph H-2

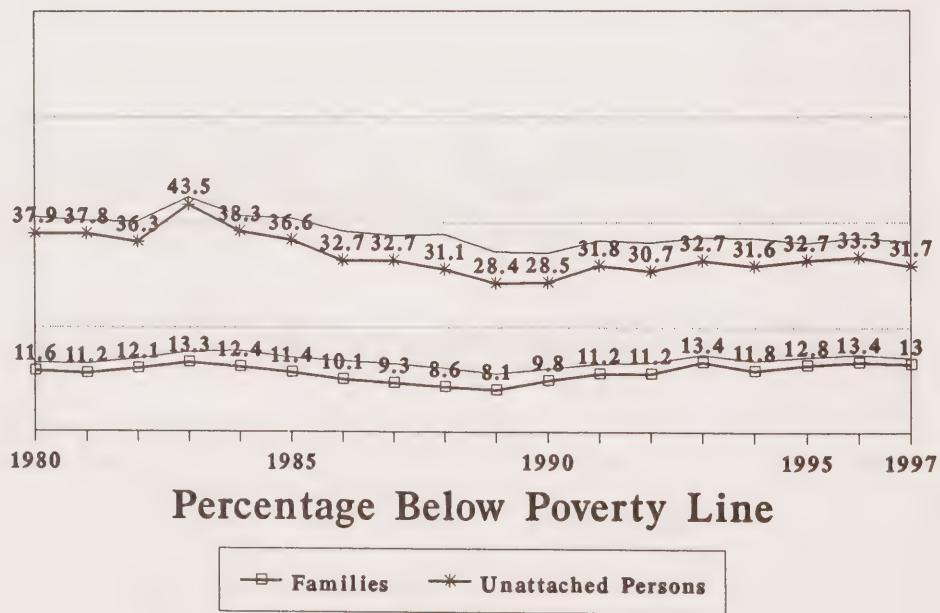
Ontario

Trends for All Persons



Graph I-1

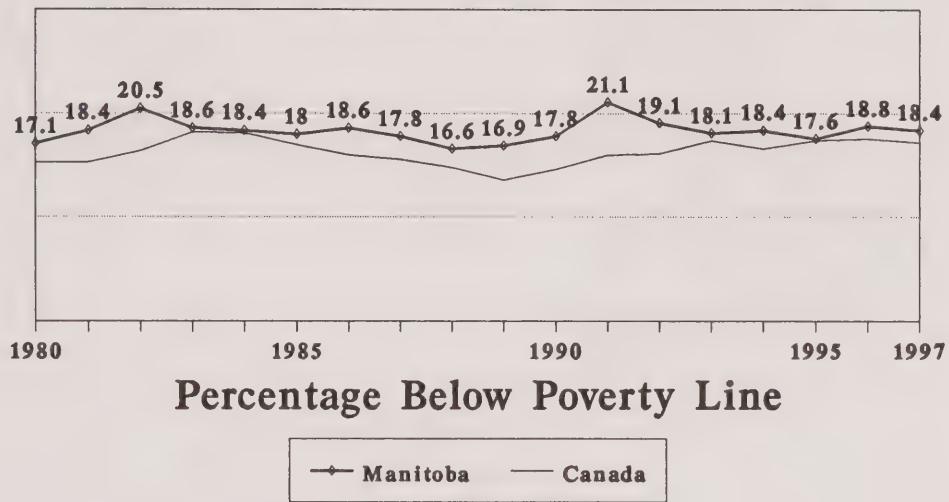
Families and Unattached Individuals



Graph I-2

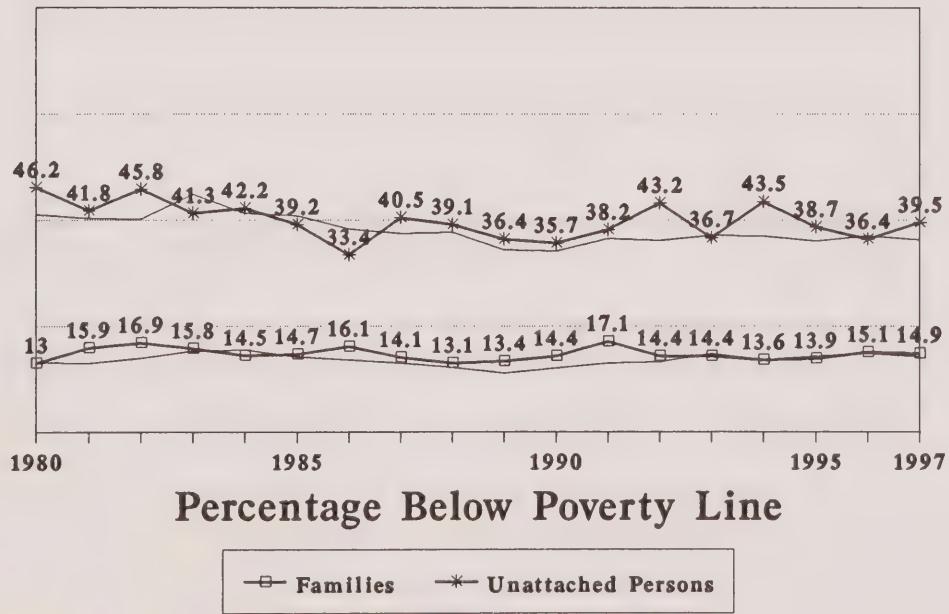
Manitoba

Trends for All Persons



Graph J-1

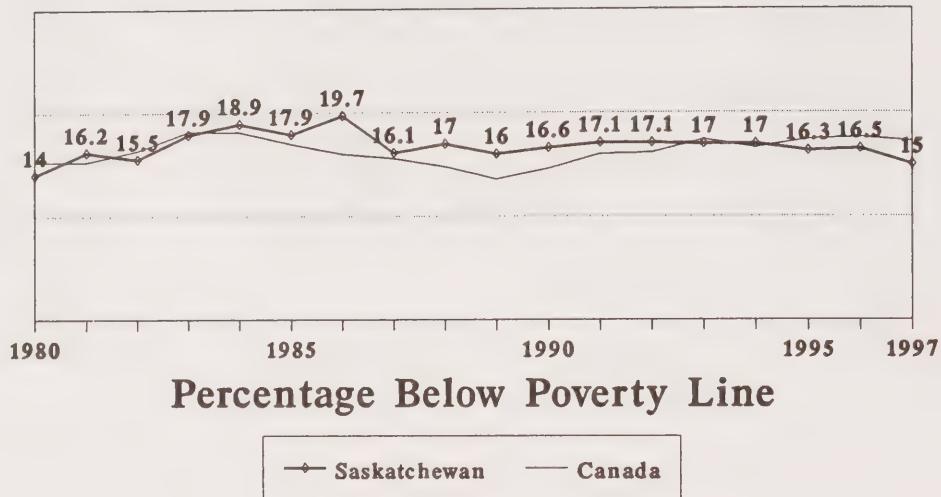
Families and Unattached Individuals



Graph J-2

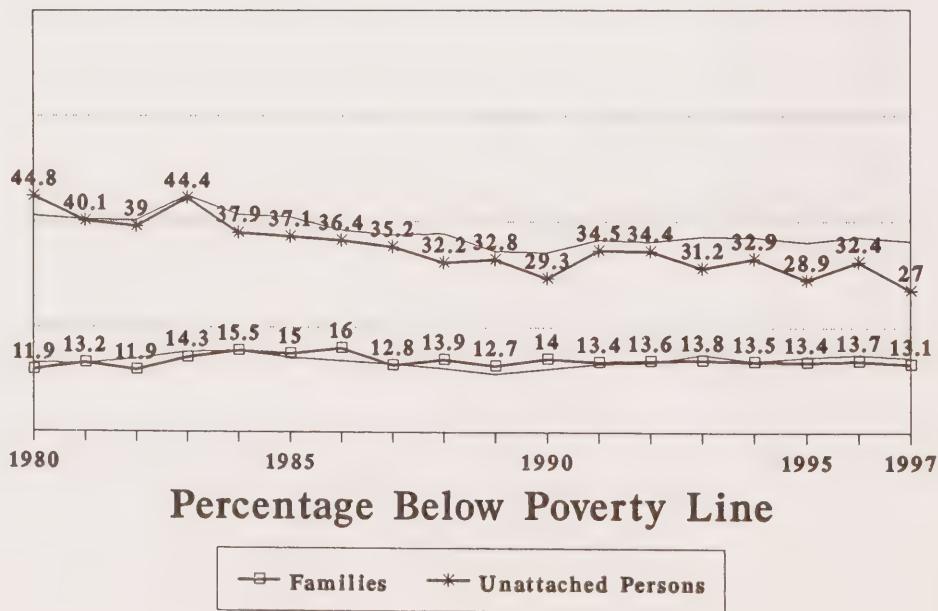
Saskatchewan

Trends for All Persons



Graph K-1

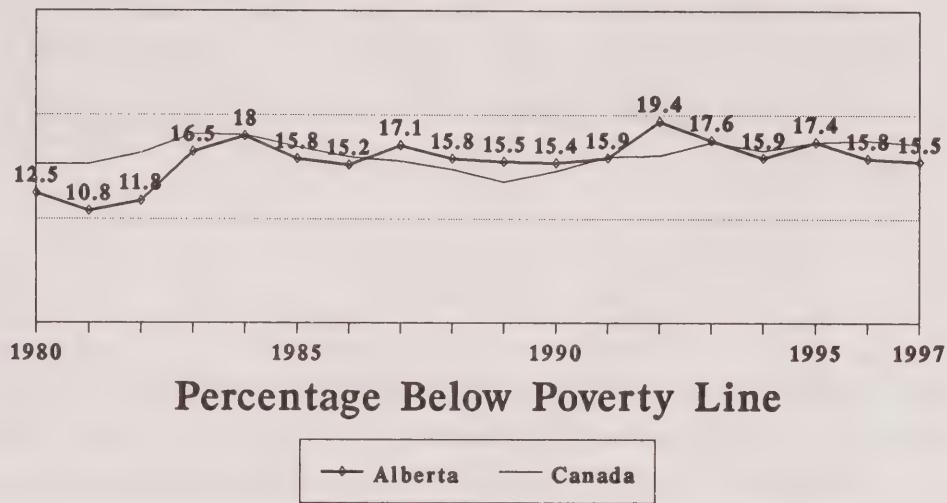
Families and Unattached Individuals



Graph K-2

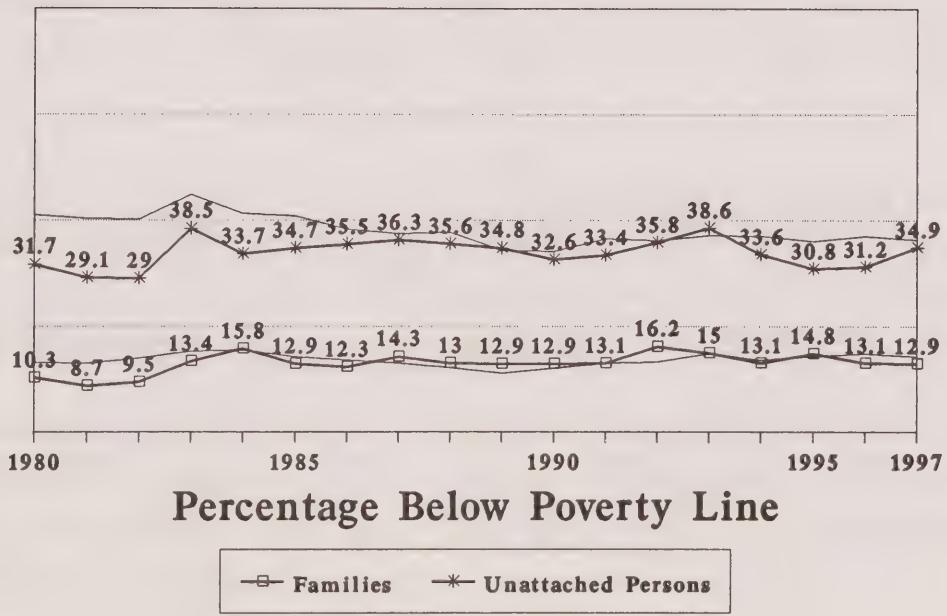
Alberta

Trends for All Persons



Graph L-1

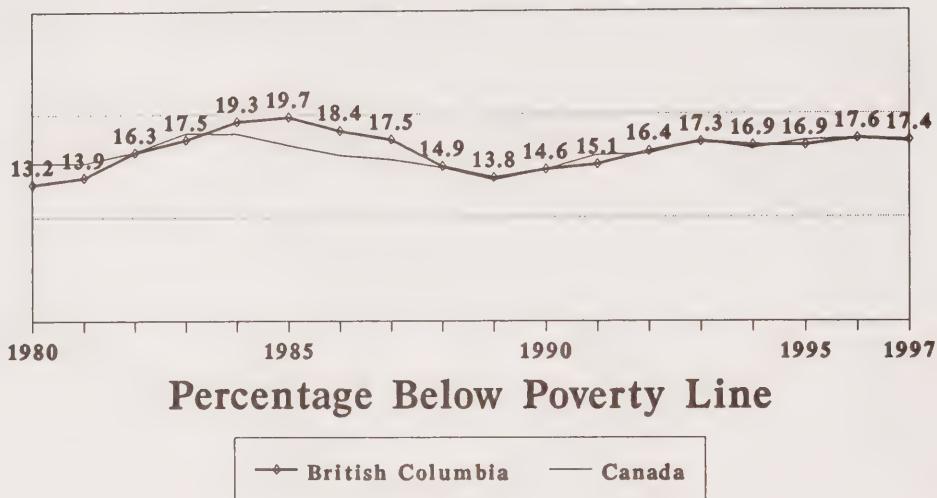
Families and Unattached Individuals



Graph L-2

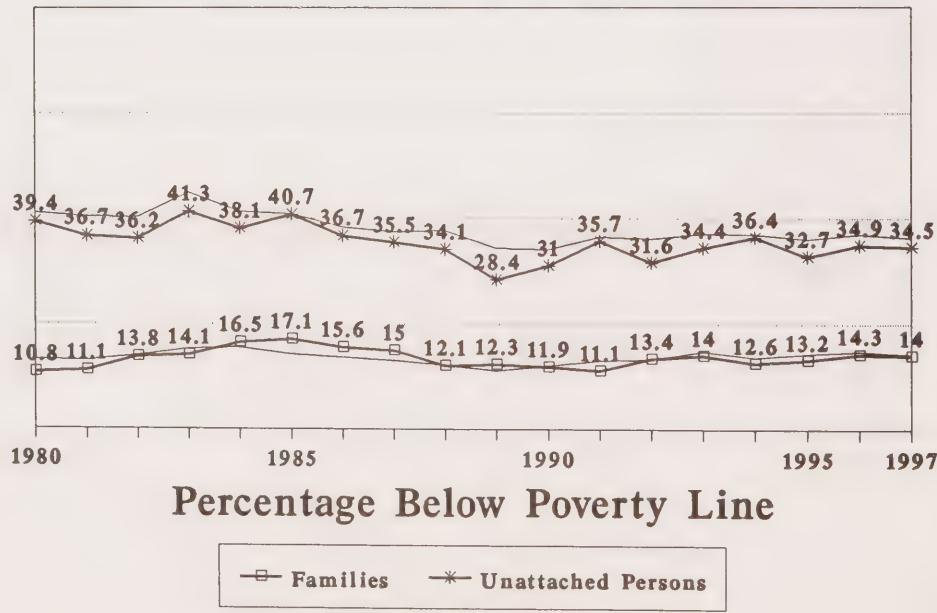
British Columbia

Trends for All Persons



Graph M-1

Families and Unattached Individuals



Graph M-2

IV. SNAPSHOTS OF POVERTY IN 1997

Poverty rates vary with family type, gender, age, employment, education, housing and population of area of residence. Among families with children, they vary with the number and age of the children. Among immigrants, there are important differences based on the length of time in Canada.

Family Type

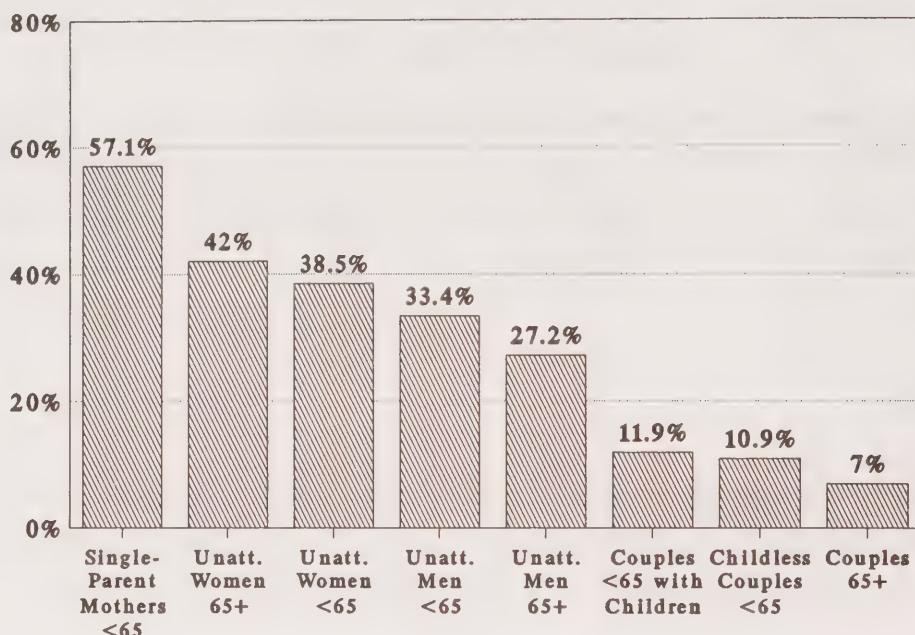
Probably the most important overall determinant of the risk of poverty is family type. As we described earlier, family type refers to the eight subcategories of families and unattached individuals that take account of age and gender as well as family circumstances.

Graph N-1 on the top of the next page arranges the eight family types by poverty rates, with the highest at the left and the lowest at the right. The group with the highest poverty rate in 1997 was single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. The next four bars represent unattached individuals. The poverty rates for unattached women were higher than the rates for unattached men. The three types of husband-wife families had relatively low poverty rates.

The pies in Graph N-2 on the bottom half of the page show the number of poor families or poor unattached individuals by family type as a proportion of all poor families or unattached individuals. Among poor families, the two largest groups were couples under 65 with children under 18 and families led by single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18.

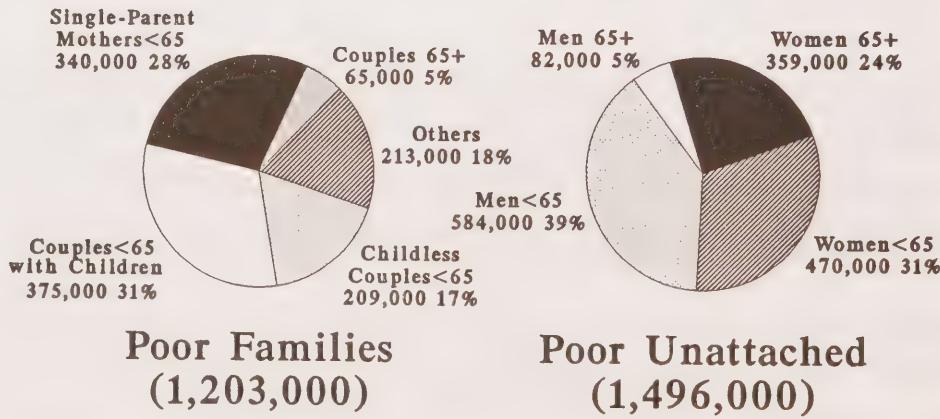
Among poor unattached individuals, the most revealing comparison is between elderly men and women. Poor unattached women 65 and older outnumbered poor unattached men 65 and older by a margin of more than four to one. The numbers of poor unattached men and women under 65 were much closer.

Poverty Rates by Family Type, 1997



Graph N-1

Distribution of Poor Families And Unattached Individuals, 1997



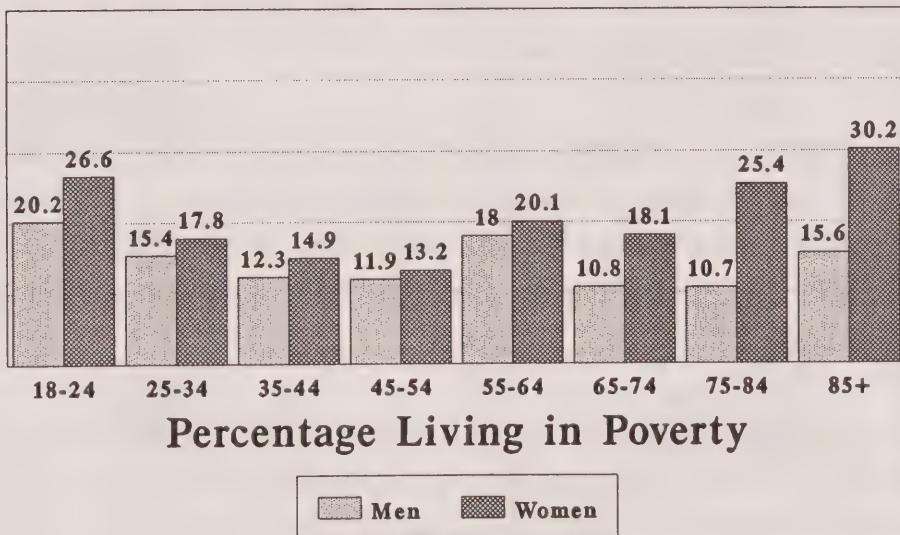
Graph N-2

Differences by Age, Gender and Family Type

Graph O gives the poverty rates for men and women by age, irrespective of their family status. The rates for women were higher in all cases than the rates for men, and the differences between the two were most pronounced in the youngest and oldest groups. Additional information about poverty among men and women is presented later in this report.

The poverty rates for both men and women were relatively high for the age group 18 through 24. That is partly a reflection of high unemployment rates among young people and partly because entry-level wages are lower than wages for experienced workers. Poverty rates for both men and women fell in the age groups that follow until the age group 55 through 64. Higher rates in this group tend to reflect the difficulties older workers have when they lose their jobs. The higher rate for women 55 through 64 may also be due to an increasing number of widows.

Poverty Rates for Persons By Age Group and Sex, 1997



Graph O

The rates for older men and women show a widening gap between the two. One reason for higher poverty rates among elderly women is the fact that women live longer than men on average. The older groups contain a large number of women who are unattached, many of them widows, and unattached persons invariably have higher poverty rates than married people.

The combination graph on the next page provides additional information about poverty by age group among people under 65 and highlights some interesting differences between family types. Graphs P-1 and P-2 on the left-hand side of the page feature couples under 65 with children under 18 and single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. Graphs P-3 and P-4 on the right-hand side show couples under 65 without children and unattached persons under 65, both men and women.

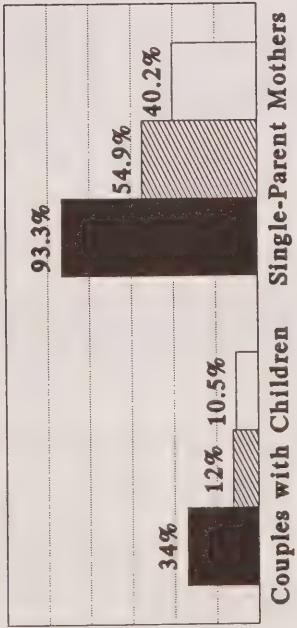
For both of the family types with children, the poverty rates were highest for young family heads and lowest for older family heads. Graph P-1 shows that the poverty rate for couples under 25 was 34 percent in 1997, and the rate for single-parent mothers under 25 was an abominable 93.3 percent. The poverty rates for both family types fell for parents in older age groups.

Graph P-2 shows the distribution of poor couples with children and poor single-parent mothers by their age group. Most women have babies while they are in their 20s or 30s, so it is not surprising to see that the vast majority of poor families with children were headed by parents in the age group 25 through 44.

The patterns were markedly different for couples without children and unattached individuals. Graph P-3 shows that poverty rates were highest for people under 25. They fell sharply for people in the age group 25 through 44. Then, instead of falling further, they started rising once again. The poverty rate for couples 45 through 64 was 12.7 percent, and the rate for unattached persons jumped to 37.5 percent.

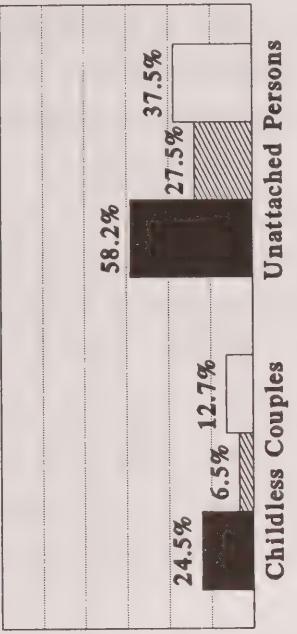
The higher poverty rates for older childless couples and older unattached people are doubly disturbing because of the large number of poor people in the age group 45 through 64. Graph P-4 shows that the 45-64 age group accounted for 67 percent of the poor couples without children under 65 and 33 percent of the poor unattached persons under 65.

Poverty Rates by Family Type For Age Groups Under 65, 1997



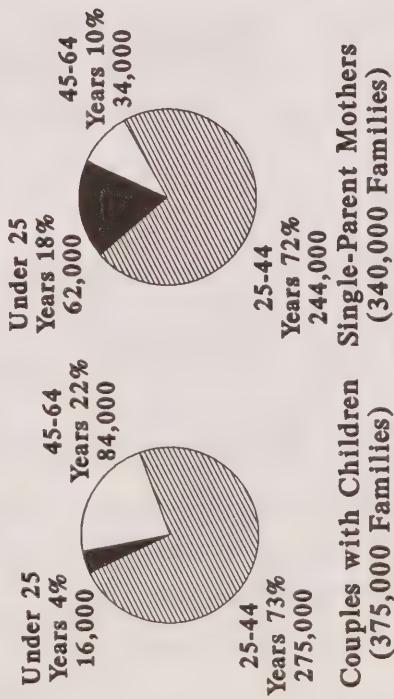
Graph P-1

Poverty Rates by Family Type For Age Groups Under 65, 1997



Graph P-3

Distribution of Poor Families By Age Group of Family Head, 1997



Graph P-2

Distribution of Poor Childless Couples & Unattached Persons By Age Group, 1997

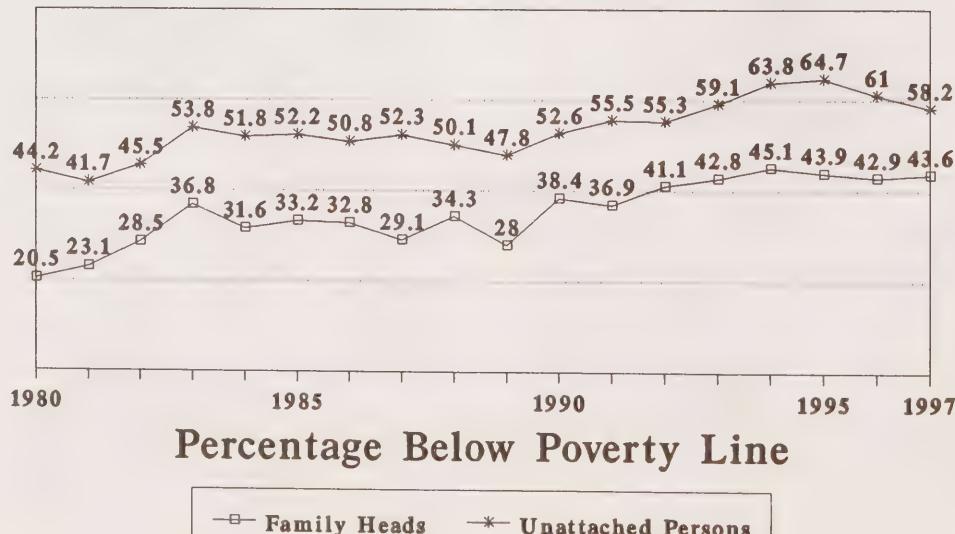


Graph P-4

The link between aging and poverty among these two groups probably reflects the difficulties in the labour market facing older workers and increasing problems with health or disabilities. Some of the older unattached persons were no doubt widows or widowers who fell into poverty on the deaths of their spouses.

Poverty among young families and young unattached people is also a concern, and the problem has been much worse in the 1990s. Graph Q shows the poverty rates for families headed by people under 25 and unattached individuals under 25 from 1980 through 1997. Poverty rates for the unattached rose following the recession of 1981-1982 and remained at very high levels for most of the rest of the decade. After a slight dip in 1989, rates began rising again and hit 64.7 percent in 1995 before falling in 1996 and 1997. The picture was a bit less gloomy for young families, but the poverty rates are up sharply since 1989. The rate for 1997 was 43.6 percent.

Poverty Rates for Family Heads and Unattached Individuals under 25



Graph Q

Work Activity

As might be expected, a good job is the best insurance against poverty for many Canadians under the age of 65, and Statistics Canada has several measures that show how the risk of poverty decreases as work activity increases. One of the most revealing relates poverty rates to the number of weeks worked during the year for people under age 65, as shown in the combination graph on the next page.

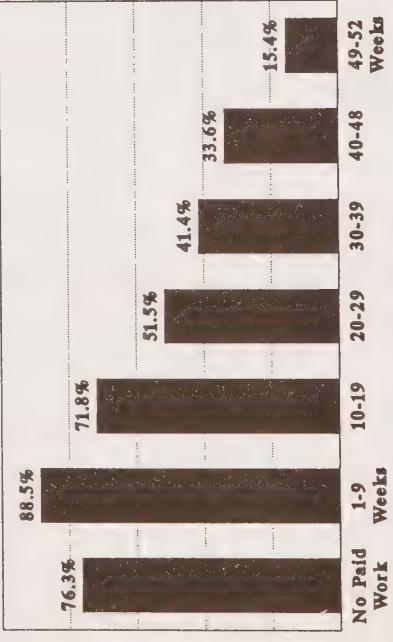
Graph R-1 in the upper left portion of the page shows how the poverty rates for unattached individuals under 65 declined as their weeks of work increased. The poverty rates for unattached persons with only a few weeks of work in 1997 were extremely high. Meanwhile, the poverty rate for those who worked for 49 to 52 weeks was 15.4 percent.

The same general pattern holds true for families with heads under 65 as shown in Graph R-3 in the upper right portion of the page. Weeks of work for families includes weeks of work by the head of the family plus weeks of work by a spouse in the case of married couples. All the married couples with only one wage-earner and all single-parent families are covered by the bars in the graph that end at 49 to 52 weeks of work. The last three bars on the right represent husband-wife families where the two spouses together worked a total of more than 52 weeks. The poverty rate for couples under 65 with 103 or more weeks of work in 1997 was a mere 2.7 percent.

Graphs R-2 and R-4 on the bottom half of the page show the distribution of poor unattached persons under 65 and poor families with heads under 65. Not surprisingly, the largest slices of the two pies represent poor people who did not work at all for wages in 1997.

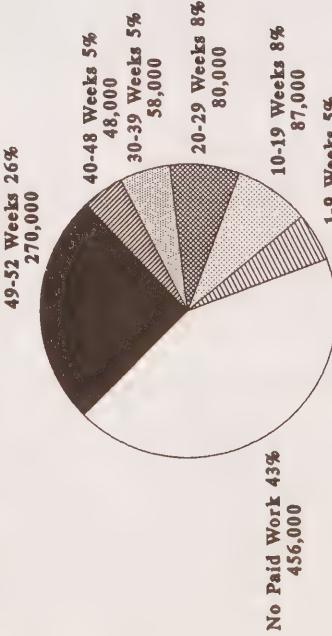
On the other hand, the pies also show that even 52 weeks of work a year does not always insulate a person from poverty. Some 270,000 unattached persons - or 26 percent of all poor unattached persons under 65 - were poor in 1997 even though they worked between 49 and 52 weeks. Some 75,000 families - or seven percent of all poor families with heads under 65 - were poor even when husbands and wives together worked for 103 or more weeks during the year.

Poverty Rates By Weeks of Work, Unattached Persons Under 65, 1997



Graph R-1

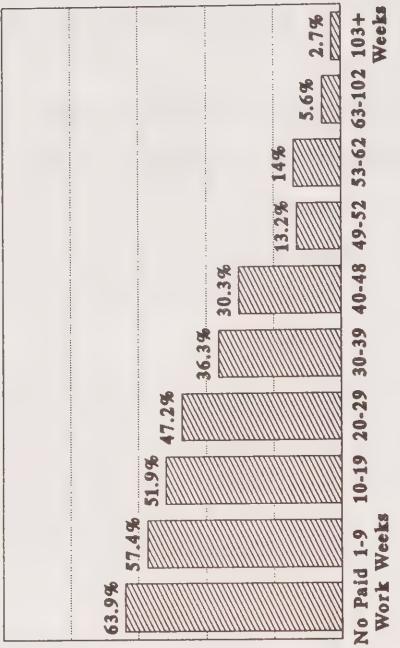
Distribution of Poor Unattached Persons Under 65 By Weeks of Work, 1997



(1,055,000 Unattached Persons)

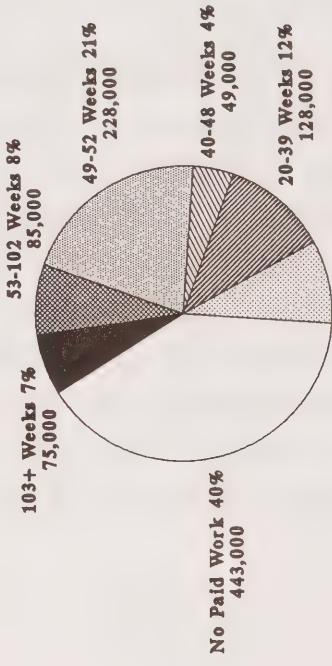
Graph R-2

Poverty Rates By Weeks of Work, Families Under 65, 1997



Graph R-3

Distribution of Poor Families Under 65 By Weeks of Work, 1997



(1,108,000 Families)

Graph R-4

Poverty rates for both families and unattached individuals also vary with the type of work done. Table 9 is arranged so that occupational groupings with the lowest poverty rates for family heads come first and the highest rates come last. The ranking of poverty rates for unattached individuals is somewhat different. In both cases, however, family heads and unattached individuals in managerial jobs had low poverty rates, and workers in service industries had the highest rates.

TABLE 9
POVERTY RATES BY OCCUPATION, 1997

Occupational Group	Family Heads	Unattached Individuals
Managerial	3.5%	10.6%
Processing and Machining	6.1%	10.5%
Professional	8.0%	17.1%
Transport	8.5%	20.1%
Construction	8.9%	27.8%
Product Fabrication	9.5%	18.5%
Farming, Fishing, Forestry	10.8%	33.5%
Sales	11.2%	28.5%
Clerical	14.5%	24.6%
Services	19.4%	41.6%

Number and Age of Children

We have seen how poverty rates vary by family type. Rates for two-parent families are relatively low, and rates for families led by single-parent mothers are sky-high. Within these general ranges, the rates vary noticeably with the number and age of children.

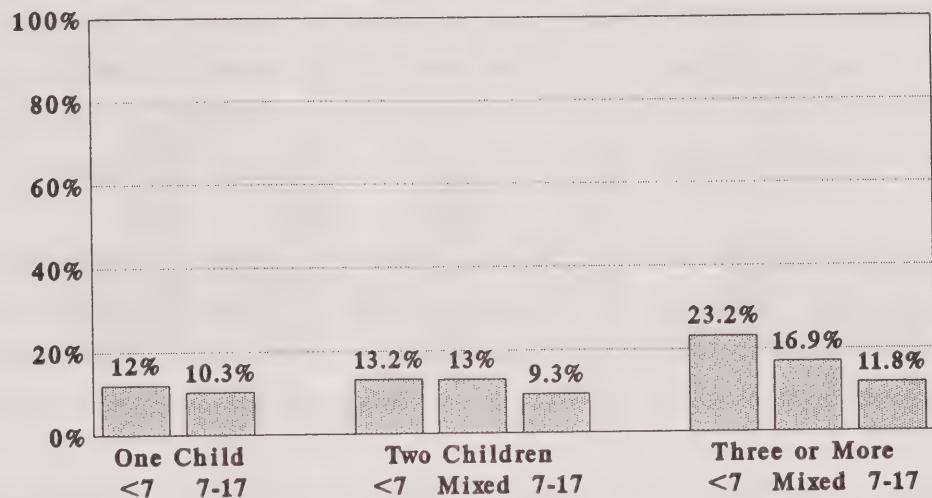
Graph S-1 at the top of the next page shows the poverty rates for two-parent families, and Graph S-2 at the bottom shows the rates for families led by single-parent mothers. Although the patterns are not perfect, the two graphs suggest that poverty rates increase with the number of children but decrease once the youngest child reaches school age.

In Graph S-2, for example, the poverty rate for families led by single-parent mothers with two children under age seven was 80.2 percent in 1997. The rate for families with two children of mixed age groups - one under seven and one seven through 17 - was 65.8 percent. The rate for families with two children both seven or older was 48.2 percent.

It would be logical to expect that the risk of poverty is higher for families of all types with very young children, because the job of caring for infants and toddlers sometimes keeps mothers out of the labour force. The absence of high-quality, affordable child care is a major problem for parents with young children, especially single parents. Mothers are more inclined to take jobs outside the home once their youngest children are off to school.

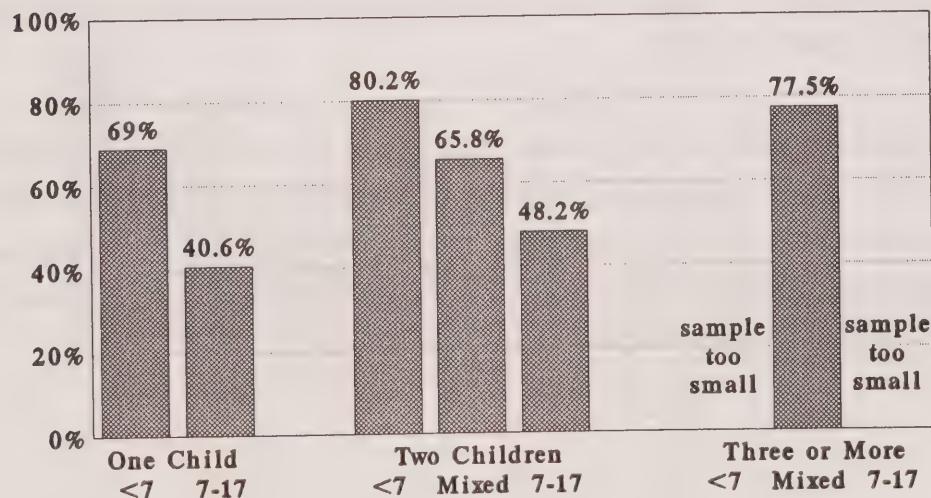
As an aside, it is interesting to note that families led by single-parent mothers had fewer children on average than two-parent families. In 1997, poor single-parent mothers under 65 had an average of 1.68 children under 18, and single-parent mothers who were not poor had an average of 1.46 children. Among couples under 65 with children, poor couples had 1.96 children under 18 on average and non-poor couples had 1.82 children.

Poverty Rates for Two-Parent Families Under 65, by Number and Age Group Of Children Under 18, 1997



Graph S-1

Poverty Rates for Single-Parent Mothers Under 65, by Number and Age Group Of Children Under 18, 1997



Graph S-2

Education

The risk of poverty normally decreases as people get more schooling. Graph T-1 at the top of the next page shows that the poverty rates for unattached persons in 1997 fell more or less steadily from 52 percent for people who never went to high school at all to 23.4 percent for people with university degrees. The poverty rates were somewhat flatter for heads of families, but the lowest rate was 7.7 percent for heads of families with university degrees.

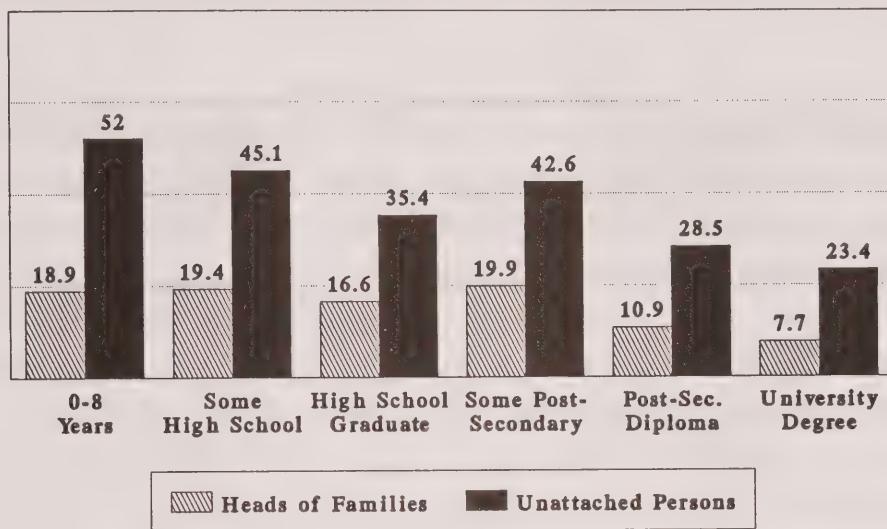
Graph T-2 at the bottom of the page shows the poverty rates by family type, with the highest rates at the left of the graph. The darkly shaded bars are poverty rates for family heads or unattached individuals who did not graduate from high school. The lighter bars are poverty rates for family heads or unattached individuals with a high school diploma or more.

The patterns are similar to the patterns for family type alone shown at the beginning of this chapter. The poverty rate for families led by single-parent mothers with less than a high school education was 82.9 percent - by far the highest rate among all those who did not graduate from high school. Single-parent mothers who did graduate had a poverty rate of 48.7 percent - again the highest of any family type. This shows that family type and level of education both influence a person's risk of poverty.

The poverty rates for couples 65 and older were virtually the same for family heads with or without a high school education.

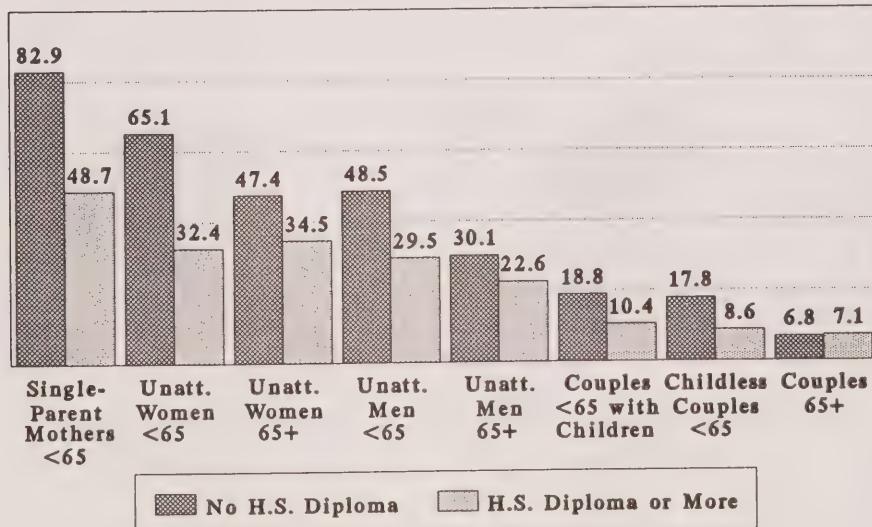
Poor education can be either a cause of poverty or an effect. Young people who drop out of school may be poor because they lack the skills needed to get good jobs. On the other hand, young women who drop out of school if they get pregnant may be poor because of the hardships associated with single parenthood. The fact that they are poorly educated is a result of their family circumstances rather than an immediate cause of poverty.

Poverty Rates by Highest Level Of Education Completed, 1997



Graph T-1

Poverty Rates by Family Type And Level of Education, 1997



Graph T-2

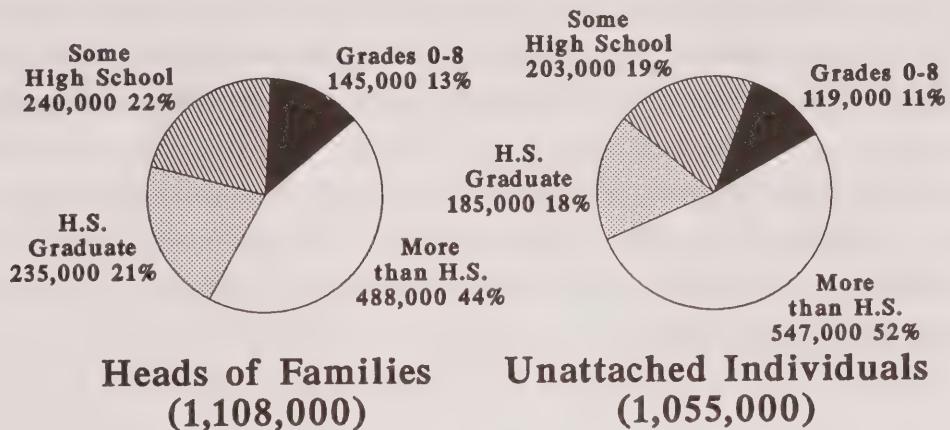
Education has become much more important as a requirement for many jobs in the latter half of the 20th century, so it is not surprising to find a marked difference in the poverty statistics by level of education when they are broken down into people under 65 and people 65 and older.

The graphs on the next page show the distribution of poor families and unattached people by level of education in 1997. The black slices of each pie represent heads of families and unattached persons who never went to high school at all. The white slices represent people who continued their formal education beyond high school.

Graph U-1 shows that relatively few poor family heads and unattached persons under 65 had less than a high school education. Most of the poor people under 65 had high school or more. In fact, 44 percent of all poor family heads under 65 and 52 percent of the poor unattached under 65 had actually gone beyond high school. This suggests that poverty may be more a result of a lack of job opportunities than a lack of education.

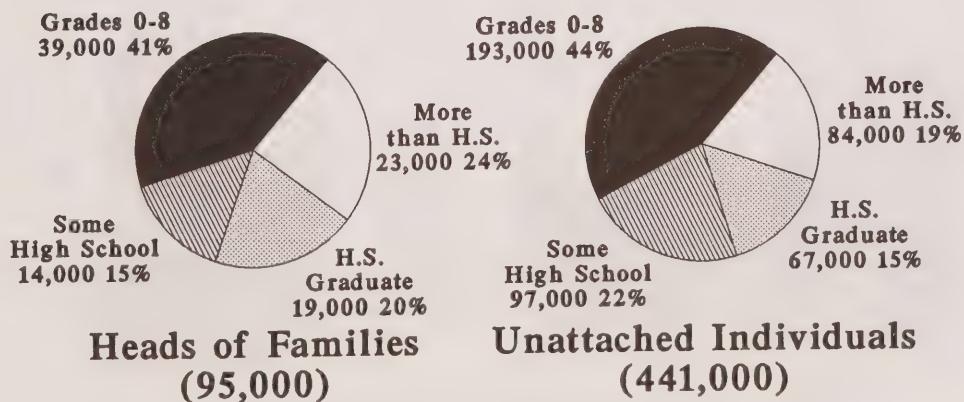
The picture is entirely different in Graph U-2. A huge proportion of the poor family heads 65 and older and unattached individuals 65 and older never got as far as high school, and relatively few continued beyond high school. These patterns will likely change as the baby boomers born after 1945 start to join the ranks of seniors in the 21st century.

Distribution of Poor Under 65 By Level of Education, 1997



Graph U-1

Distribution of Poor 65 and Older By Level of Education, 1997



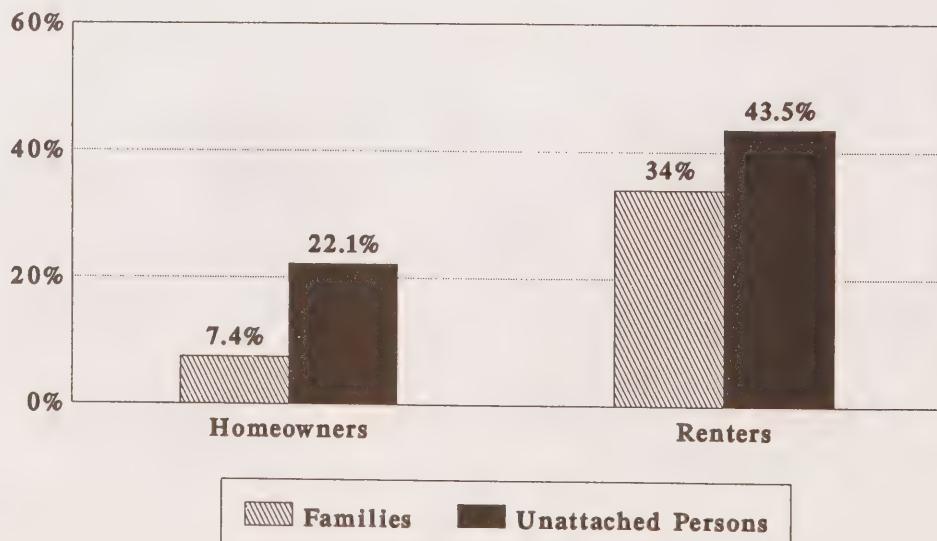
Graph U-2

Homeowners and Renters

Poverty rates are relatively low among homeowners and relatively high among renters. As Graph V shows, the poverty rate in 1997 for families living in their own homes was 7.4 percent, while the rate for families which rented their homes was 34 percent. Among unattached individuals, the poverty rates were 22.1 percent for homeowners and 43.5 percent for renters.

The vast majority of poor people in Canada are renters rather than homeowners. Renters accounted for 62 percent of all poor families in 1997 and nearly 80 percent of all poor unattached people. In the population as a whole, 26 percent of families and 66 percent of unattached individuals were renters.

Poverty Rates for Renters and Homeowners, 1997



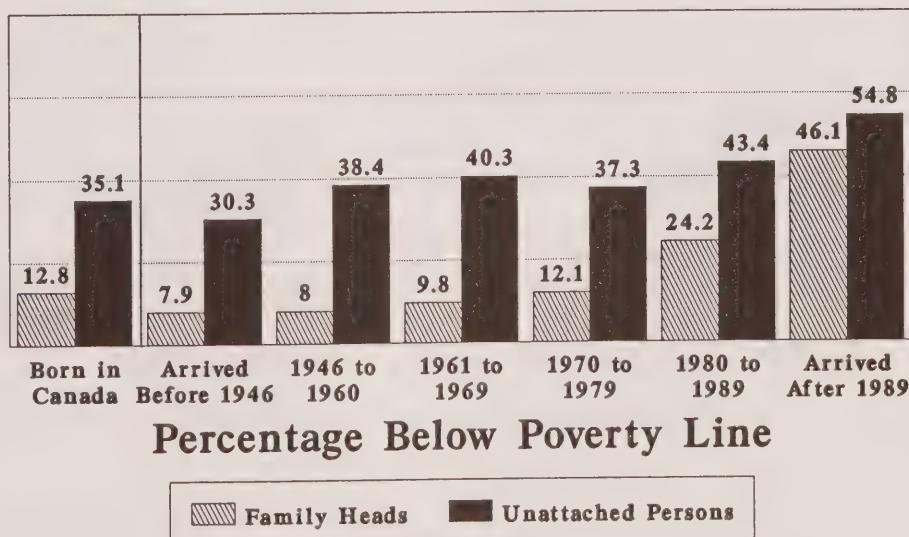
Graph V

Year of Immigration

Poverty rates are normally lower for unattached individuals and families headed by people born in Canada than for comparable groups of immigrants. In 1997, the poverty rate for all unattached individuals born in Canada was 35.1 percent, and the rate for all unattached individuals who immigrated to Canada was 42.5 percent. The poverty rate for heads of families born in Canada was 12.8 percent, and the rate for heads of families born elsewhere was 20.3 percent.

Poverty rates were relatively low for families with heads who immigrated to Canada prior to 1980 and relatively high for heads of families who immigrated in recent years. Among unattached individuals, poverty rates were lowest among people who immigrated before 1946 and highest among those who arrived after 1989.

Poverty Rates for Immigrants By Period of Immigration, 1997



Area of Residence

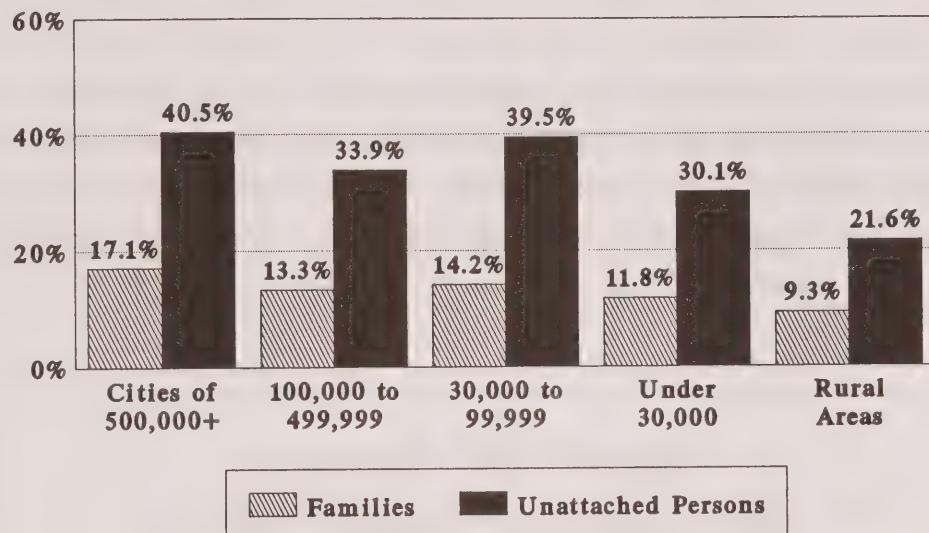
Graphs X-1 and X-2 on the next page show poverty among families and unattached people by the size of their communities. Each of the five categories in the graph corresponds to a set of poverty lines based on community size.

Graph X-1 shows that poverty rates are higher in large cities than in small towns and rural areas. This is partly due to the fact that the low income cut-offs are higher in urban areas than rural areas. For example, a single person with an annual income of \$14,500 in 1997 would have been considered poor in the nine census metropolitan areas with populations of more than half a million, but would have been above the poverty line in all other parts of Canada.

Graph X-2 shows the distribution of poor families and unattached individuals by community size. In 1997, 681,000 poor families or 57 percent of all poor families and 891,000 unattached individuals or 60 percent of all poor unattached people lived in cities of half a million people or more.

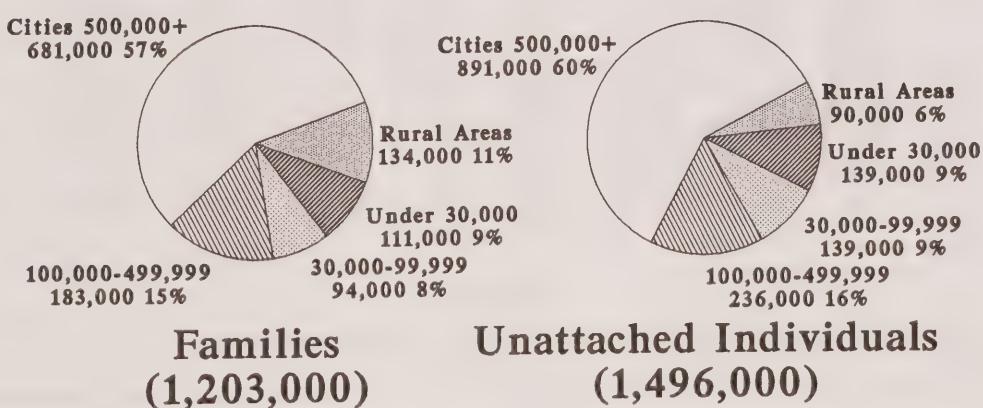
The percentage of poor people living in the biggest cities is disproportionately high, because only 47 percent of all families and 53 percent of all unattached individuals lived in cities of half a million or more in 1997.

Poverty Rates By Size of Area of Residence, 1997



Graph X-1

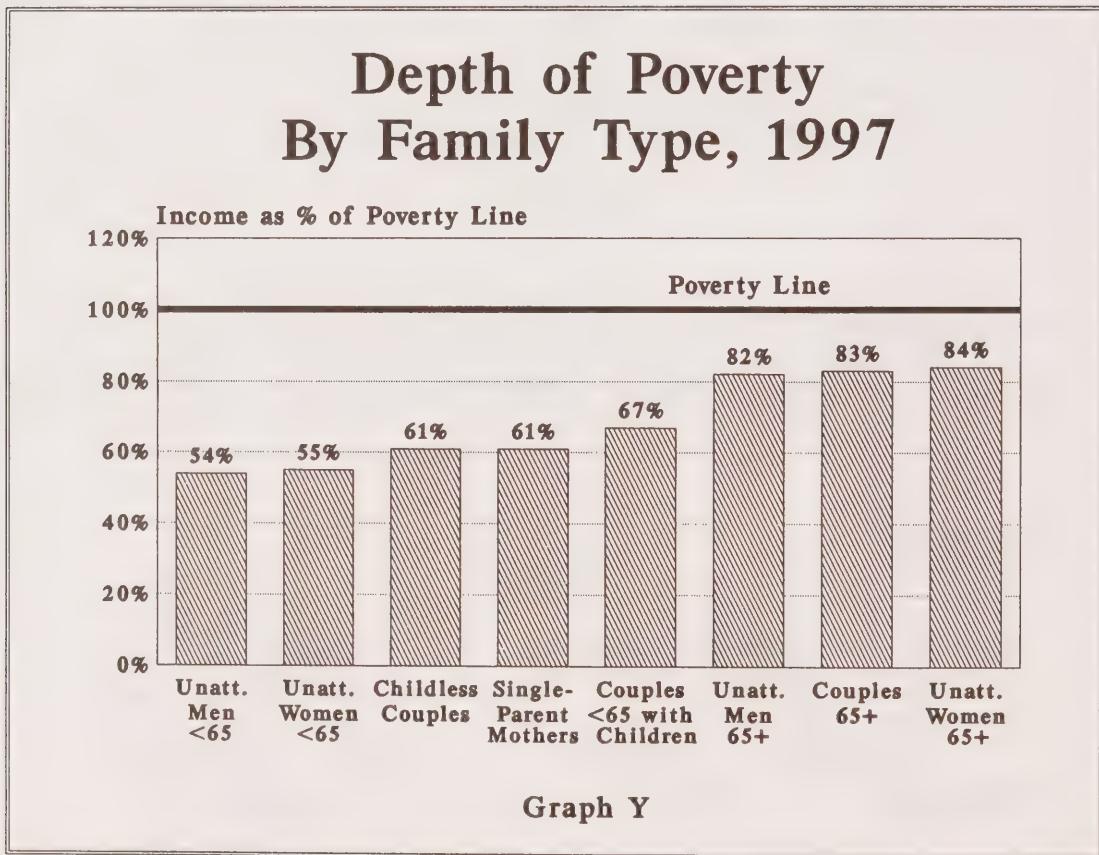
Distribution of Poor Families And Unattached Individuals, 1997



Graph X-2

V. DEPTH OF POVERTY AND THE POVERTY GAP

It is one thing to measure the risk of poverty and another to measure its severity. Poverty rates show the percentage of the population which is poor each year, but they do not show whether poor people are living in abject poverty or a few dollars below the poverty line. For that, we need measures of the "depth of poverty." Depth of poverty statistics also allow us to calculate the "poverty gap" to show how much additional income would be needed to bring all Canadians out of poverty.



Graph Y shows the average incomes of poor Canadians as a percentage of the poverty line for the eight family types which were highlighted in previous chapters. The groups are arranged with the poorest at the left of the graph and the least poor at the right. Unattached men

under 65 were the poorest of the eight family types in 1997, with total incomes that were only 54 percent of the poverty line on average. Poor unattached women 65 and older were at the other end, with average incomes of 84 percent of the poverty line.

Depth of poverty can also be expressed in dollars as the difference between the poverty line and the average income of poor families or unattached individuals. Table 10 shows the average depth of poverty by family type for 1980, 1996 and 1997, with all the figures in 1997 constant dollars to factor out the effects of inflation over the years.

TABLE 10

**AVERAGE DEPTH OF POVERTY BY FAMILY TYPE
IN CONSTANT 1997 DOLLARS**

Family Type	Dollars Below Poverty Line in 1980	Dollars Below Poverty Line in 1996	Dollars Below Poverty Line in 1997
Single-Parent Mothers under 65 with Children under 18	\$10,452	\$9,758	\$9,337
Couples under 65 with Children under 18	\$8,612	\$9,008	\$9,822
Unattached Women under 65	\$7,593	\$6,470	\$6,823
Unattached Men under 65	\$7,279	\$6,876	\$6,854
Childless Couples under 65	\$6,965	\$6,686	\$7,295
Unattached Men 65 and Older	\$4,272	\$2,757	\$2,452
Unattached Women 65 and Older	\$4,112	\$2,903	\$2,436
Couples 65 and Older	\$3,499	\$2,592	\$3,523

Single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 had the largest depth of poverty in 1980 in terms of dollars below the poverty line. Their situation improved marginally in 1997,

but they remained \$9,337 on average below the poverty line. Poor couples under 65 with children under 18 were at \$8,612 below the poverty line in 1980, \$9,008 below in 1996 and \$9,822 below in 1997. The 1997 figure was the worst in 18 years.

Unattached women and men under 65 came next. They were worst off when depth of poverty was expressed as a percentage of the poverty line, but had a different ranking when the measure was dollars below the poverty line. The explanation for this apparent inconsistency is that the poverty lines are higher for families than they are for unattached people. A family of four living in a large city at half the 1997 poverty line of \$32,377 would have been \$16,189 below the line, while a single person at half the poverty line of \$16,320 would have been \$8,160 below the line.

Poor couples under 65 without children were \$7,295 below the poverty line on average in 1997, another 18-year high.

Poor unattached women and men 65 and older have seen their depth of poverty decrease over the 18-year period. The pattern has been more erratic for poor senior couples, perhaps because of statistical variations due to the relatively small size of the group. Between 1996 and 1997, for example, the depth of poverty for senior couples jumped from \$2,592 to \$3,523.

Using the average depth of poverty in dollars for different family types and the number of families or unattached individuals in each group, it is possible to calculate Canada's total poverty gap, or the amount of additional income that would be required to bring all Canadians above the poverty line in any given year.

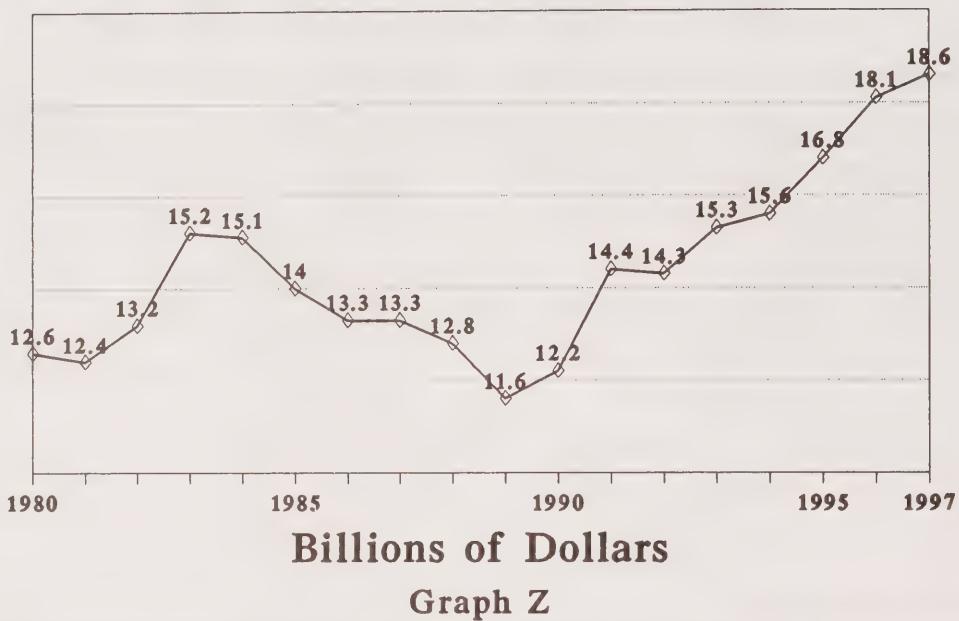
The poverty gap in 1997 was \$18.6 billion, as shown in Table 11 on the next page. Four family types accounted for more than three-quarters of the gap: unattached men under 65, couples under 65 with children under 18, unattached women under 65, and single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. The ranking of these four groups changes from year to year, but no other family types come close to the size of their poverty gaps.

TABLE 11
TOTAL POVERTY GAP BY FAMILY TYPE, 1997

	Poverty Gap	% of Total Gap
Unattached Men under 65	\$4,006,000,000	21.6%
Couples under 65 with Children under 18	\$3,684,000,000	19.8%
Unattached Women under 65	\$3,207,000,000	17.3%
Single-Parent Mothers under 65 with Children under 18	\$3,178,000,000	17.1%
Couples under 65 without Children	\$1,522,000,000	8.2%
Unattached Women 65 and Older	\$875,000,000	4.7%
Couples 65 and Older	\$230,000,000	1.2%
Unattached Men 65 and Older	\$201,000,000	1.1%
Others	\$1,671,000,000	9.0%
Total Poverty Gap	\$18,574,000,000	100%

Canada's poverty gap rose and fell in recent years in much the same way that poverty rates rose and fell, as shown in Graph Z on the next page. All the dollar figures have been expressed in constant 1997 dollars to show the trends with the effects of inflation removed. The gap was \$12.6 billion in 1980, it rose to \$15.2 billion in 1983 in the wake of the recession, and it fell for most of the rest of the decade. With the start of another recession in 1990, the gap rose once again and continued rising through 1997.

Canada's Total Poverty Gap In Constant 1997 Dollars

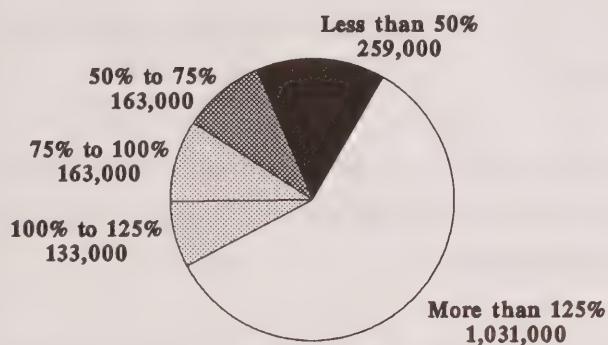


A third way of looking at depth of poverty is to group families and unattached individuals into income categories based on percentages of the poverty lines, as in the combination graphs on the pages that follow.

The first page shows the distribution of incomes in 1997 for the four types of unattached individuals. Each type is represented by a pie, and the slices of the pies represent people in different income categories: less than 50 percent of the poverty line, 50 to 75 percent of the line, 75 to 100 percent of the line, 100 to 125 percent of the line, and more than 125 percent of the line.

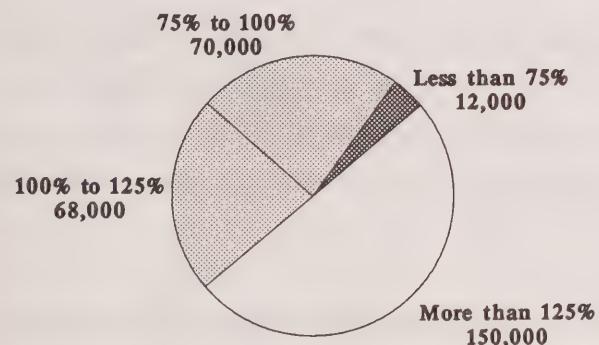
The income distributions for unattached men and women under 65 are shown in Graphs AA-1 and AA-3 on the top half of the page. Relatively large numbers of people were well below the poverty line in 1997. The poorest of the poor were the 259,000 poor unattached men under 65 and the 189,000 poor unattached women under 65 with incomes of less than 50 percent of the poverty line. They would have needed huge increases in their incomes to escape from poverty.

Income Distributions in 1997 As Percentages of Poverty Line



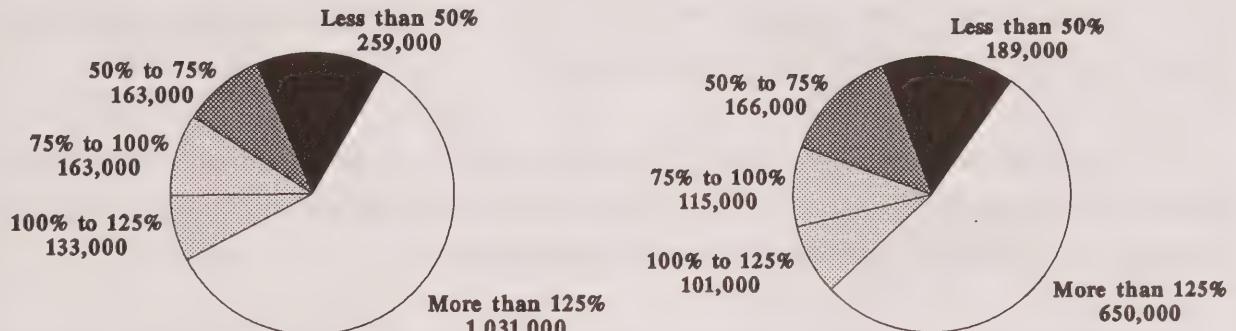
Unattached Men under 65

Graph AA-1



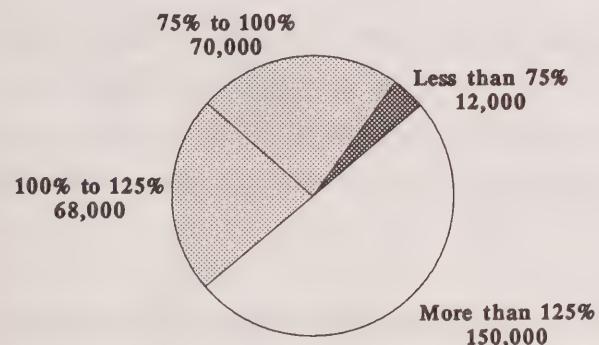
Unattached Men 65 and Older

Graph AA-2



Unattached Women under 65

Graph AA-3



Unattached Women 65 and Older

Graph AA-4

The income distributions were markedly different for the unattached men and women 65 and older as shown in Graphs AA-2 and AA-4. The category less than 50 percent of the poverty line was so small that it was combined with the category 50 to 75 percent of the poverty line. Huge numbers of unattached seniors fell into the two categories shown in light grey: 75 to 100 percent of the poverty line and 100 to 125 percent of the line. With this kind of income distribution, poverty rates could fall or rise noticeably if unattached seniors saw their incomes go up or down by even a few dollars a week - or if Statistics Canada changed its methodology to raise or lower the poverty lines even a few dollars.

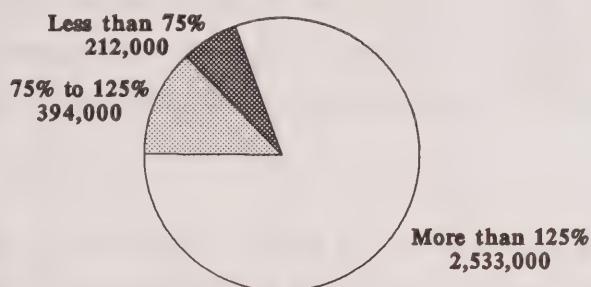
Just to get an idea of the impact of modest increases or decreases in income for all unattached individuals, the National Council of Welfare recalculated the 1997 poverty statistics according to hypothetical best-case and worst-case scenarios.

In the best-case scenario, we assumed that all the poor unattached people with incomes between 75 and 100 percent of the poverty line - one of the light grey slices of each pie - got enough additional income in 1997 to put them over the poverty line. The number of poor unattached individuals would have dropped from 1,496,000 to 851,000 under this scenario, and the poverty rate would have fallen from 36.3 percent to 20.6 percent.

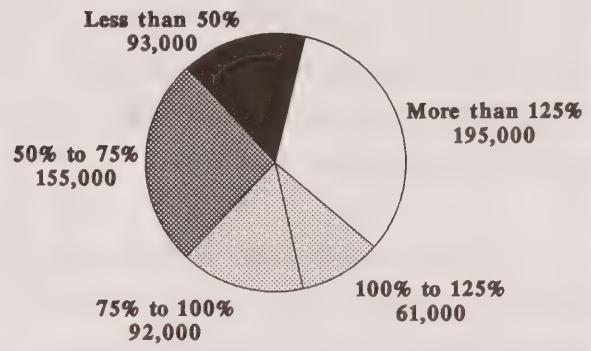
In the worst-case scenario, we assumed that all "near poor" unattached persons with incomes of 100 to 125 percent of the poverty line - the other light grey slice of each pie - lost enough income in 1997 to fall into poverty. The number of poor unattached individuals would have risen from 1,496,000 to 2,012,000 under this scenario, and the poverty rate would have shot up from 36.3 percent to 48.8 percent.

The graphs on the next page present the same kind of income distributions for families. The three pies for couples under 65 with children under 18, couples under 65 without children, and couples 65 and older are similar. The vast majority of families had incomes of more than 125 percent of the poverty line. The light grey slices representing incomes of 75 to 100 percent of the poverty line and 100 to 125 percent of the line are relatively small - so small that the categories had to be combined in two of the pies to be identified clearly. Two other categories - under 50 percent of the poverty line and 50 to 75 percent of the line - were even smaller and also had to be combined.

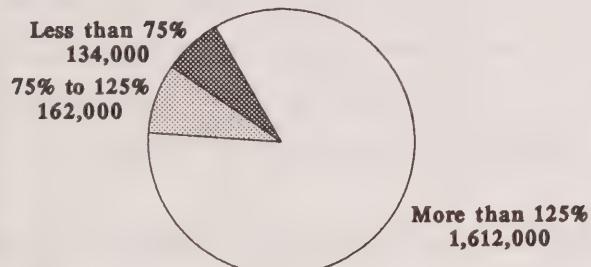
Income Distributions in 1997 As Percentages of Poverty Line



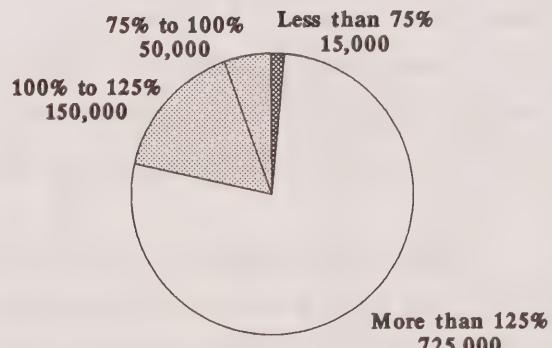
Couples under 65
With Children
Graph AB-1



Single-Parent
Mothers Under 65
Graph AB-3



Couples Under 65
Without Children
Graph AB-2



Couples 65 and Older
Graph AB-4

The one family type that was the exception to the overall pattern for families was single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 shown in Graph AB-3. That particular pie shows relatively few single-parent mothers with incomes of 125 percent or more of the poverty line. It also shows 93,000 single-parent mothers with incomes of less than half the poverty line and 155,000 mothers at 50 to 75 percent of the poverty line.

Under a hypothetical best-case scenario, with all families at 75 to 100 percent of the poverty line getting additional income and moving out of poverty, the number of poor families would have dropped from 1,203,000 to 725,000 in 1997 and the poverty rate would have fallen from 14.3 percent to 8.6 percent.

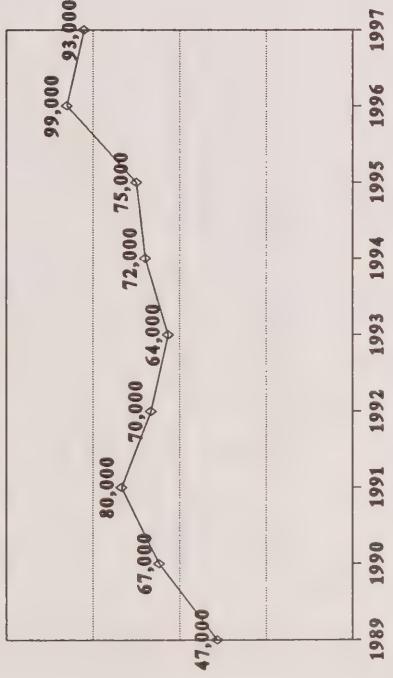
Under a worst-case scenario, with families at 100 to 125 percent of the poverty line falling into poverty, the number of poor families would have risen from 1,203,000 to 1,847,000, and the poverty rate would have gone up from 14.3 percent to 22 percent.

The National Council of Welfare has long been alarmed about the number of people who were living at less than half the poverty line, and we were shocked to see the number go up in 1997 despite the continuing overall improvements in the economy in the years following the last recession. Clearly, there has been a sharp increase in the ranks of the poorest of the poor since 1989 as governments at all levels cut back services and income supports to poor people. Cuts in welfare by provincial and territorial governments and cuts in unemployment insurance by the federal government probably go a long way to explaining this tragic state of affairs.

Graphs AC-1 through AC-4 highlight the increase in abject poverty from 1989 through 1997. There were a total of 93,000 single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 living at less than 50 percent of the poverty line in 1997. That was down slightly from the figure of 99,000 the previous year, but it was roughly double the number of 47,000 in 1989, the year before the start of the 1990-1991 recession.

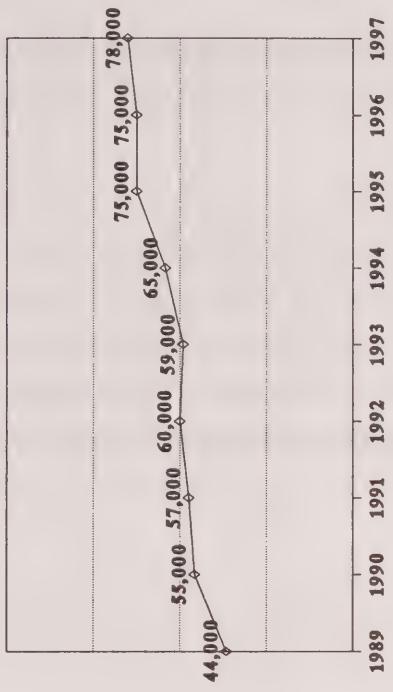
In the case of couples under 65 with children under 18, couples under 65 without children and unattached persons under 65, the figures on the poorest of the poor have increased more or less steadily since 1989.

Single-Parent Mothers Under 50% of Poverty Line



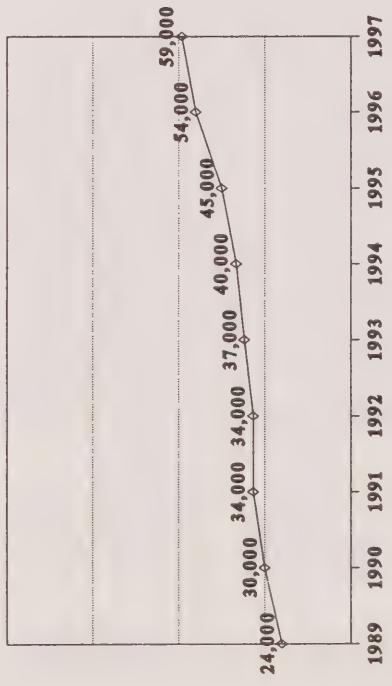
Graph AC-1

Couples under 65 with Children Under 50% of the Poverty Line



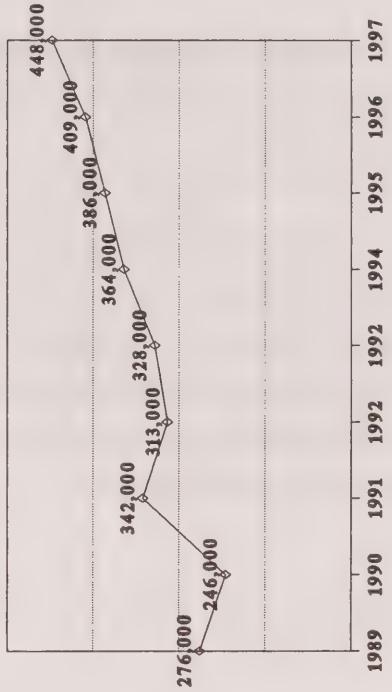
Graph AC-3

Childless Couples under 65 Under 50% of Poverty Line



Graph AC-2

Unattached Persons under 65 Under 50% of Poverty Line



Graph AC-4

Adding in miscellaneous family types and a few thousand very poor seniors produces a grand total for 1997 of 277,000 families and 456,000 unattached individuals living at less than half the poverty line.

These figures provide the definitive rebuttal to people who believe that poverty is not a problem in Canada. People who live at less than half the poverty line are poor by any reasonable standard. It is tragic to think of so many people living in abject poverty, and it is appalling to see the figures rising as the economy continues to improve. The National Council of Welfare believes this is a problem of the highest magnitude that cries out for an immediate response from governments.

VI. POOR CANADIANS AND THEIR SOURCES OF INCOME

One measure of the financial plight of poor people is how far they live below the poverty line. Another is how their incomes compare to average incomes. Table 12 shows the average income of poor Canadians by family type in 1997, the average income of all Canadians by family type, and the relationship between the two. For example, unattached men under 65 who were poor had a total income of \$8,257 on average in 1997. The income of all unattached men under 65, both poor and non-poor, was \$28,800 on average. The average income of the poor amounted to 29 percent of the average income of all unattached men under 65.

TABLE 12

INCOMES OF THE POOR COMPARED TO AVERAGE INCOMES, 1997

Family Type	Average Income of Poor	Average Income of All	Income of Poor as Percentage of All
Unattached Men under 65	\$8,257	\$28,800	29%
Unattached Women under 65	\$8,287	\$24,470	34%
Childless Couples under 65	\$12,033	\$56,899	21%
Unattached Men 65 and Older	\$12,661	\$24,340	52%
Unattached Women 65 and Older	\$12,818	\$18,399	70%
Single-Parent Mothers under 65 with Children under 18	\$14,666	\$25,445	58%
Couples 65 and Older	\$17,864	\$40,085	45%
Couples under 65 with Children under 18	\$20,018	\$64,832	31%

The differences between the average incomes of the poor and all Canadians are sometimes striking. Poor couples under 65 with children under 18 had an average family income of \$20,018 in 1997, for example, while the average income of all couples with children under 18 was \$64,832 or more than three times as large.

The differences were much less in the case of unattached seniors and single-parent mothers, because average incomes were much less. The average income for poor single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 was \$14,666 in 1997, but the average income of all single-parent mothers was only \$25,445 - much less than the average income for all husband-wife families.

The incomes of poor people last peaked earlier in the decade, and the overall trend has been slightly downward ever since. Between 1996 and 1997, the incomes of poor unattached women 65 and older and the incomes of unattached men both under and over 65 were up slightly when measured in constant dollars. There was no appreciable change in the incomes of poor single-parent mothers under 65, and incomes were down slightly for the four remaining family types.

Additional information about income trends for the poorest 20 percent of families and unattached individuals appears in Appendix C.

Obviously, many poor Canadians rely on government programs of one kind or another to help make ends meet. In some cases, the amounts provided by governments are surprisingly modest, and the amounts provided by earnings and non-government sources of income are substantial. In other cases, especially in the case of poor seniors, governments provide a very large portion of total income.

Table 13 shows the average amount of "transfer payments" received by poor families and unattached individuals in 1997. Transfer payments include Canada and Quebec Pension Plan benefits, unemployment insurance, welfare, the federal Old Age Security pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement, the federal Child Tax Benefit and the federal GST credit. The Canada and Quebec Pension Plans and unemployment insurance are government-run programs, but the money comes from contributions by workers and employers, not from government.

The family types in the table are ranked according to the average size of transfer payments, with the smallest amounts first. The second column gives the average incomes of poor families and unattached individuals from all sources - the same figures as in Table 12. The third column gives the percentage of total income from transfers.

Government programs of one kind or another provided less than half of total income for the first four family types, 64 percent of total income for single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18, and 91 to 93 percent of total income for the three family types 65 or older.

TABLE 13

TRANSFER PAYMENTS TO THE POOR BY FAMILY TYPE, 1997

Family Type	Average Transfer Payment	Average Income from All Sources	Transfers as Percentage of Total Income
Unattached Men under 65	\$3,626	\$8,257	44%
Unattached Women under 65	\$3,840	\$8,287	46%
Childless Couples under 65	\$5,720	\$12,033	48%
Couples under 65 with Children under 18	\$8,227	\$20,018	41%
Single-Parent Mothers under 65 with Children under 18	\$9,362	\$14,666	64%
Unattached Men 65 and Older	\$11,784	\$12,661	93%
Unattached Women 65 and Older	\$11,808	\$12,818	92%
Couples 65 and Older	\$16,324	\$17,864	91%

Transfer payments to poor people have been on the decline for the last several years. That is not surprising, because transfers for programs such as welfare and unemployment insurance normally fall as the economy improves.

On the other hand, transfers to unattached women 65 and older hit \$11,808 in 1997, a nine-year high.

Senior Couples and Unattached Individuals

One reason that poverty rates for seniors have plummeted over the years has been the variety of government programs for seniors. Table 14 provides a closer look at these and other common sources of income for poor senior couples and poor unattached men and women 65 and older. For each family type, there are two columns. The first column indicates the percentage of poor families or unattached individuals with income from a particular source. The second column gives the average amount received by recipients only. Poor people who did not receive a particular type of income were not included in calculating the average amount of that type of payment.

Almost all poor seniors got a sizable portion of their total incomes from the federal government's Old Age Security pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement. The reason the percentages are less than 100 percent is probably because some poor seniors were recent immigrants to Canada who did not meet the residence requirements of the programs. The maximum Old Age Security pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement for senior couples in 1997 was \$17,198 and the maximum for an unattached senior was \$10,607.

The second most important source of income was the Canada or Quebec Pension Plans. CPP or QPP benefits were received by 84 percent of poor senior couples, 81 percent of poor unattached senior men and 72 percent of poor unattached senior women. The maximum retirement benefit under the two plans was \$8,842 in 1997, and the maximum survivor pension for a person 65 and older was \$5,305. The maximums relate to career earnings above the average wage. People who had lower earnings during their careers get lower benefits.

Some poor seniors had income from investments in 1997, but the average amounts were modest.

TABLE 14
SOURCES OF INCOME FOR POOR SENIORS, 1997

	Poor Couples 65 and Older (65,000)		Poor Unattached Men 65 and Older (82,000)		Poor Unattached Women 65 and Older (359,000)	
	Percent Who Received	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Received	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Received	Average Amount to Recipient
Old Age Pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement	91%	\$11,215	96%	\$8,032	98%	\$8,291
Canada and Quebec Pension Plans	84%	\$5,875	81%	\$3,807	72%	\$3,948
Investments and Savings	27%	\$1,341	sample too small		29%	\$1,469
Provincial Supplements	20%	\$1,827	23%	\$1,995	23%	\$1,087
Occupational Pension Plans	24%	\$2,768	14%	\$2,764	15%	\$2,753
RRSPs	6%	\$1,469	sample too small		3%	\$2,544
Income from All Sources	100%	\$17,864	100%	\$12,661	100%	\$12,818

The category provincial supplements refers to the supplements for low-income seniors given by some provincial governments. It also includes some welfare benefits for seniors in provinces that do not have supplements. The amounts provided by these programs vary greatly from province to province, and the amounts received were modest on average.

A fairly small proportion of poor seniors had income from occupational pension plans. Poor coverage has been a long-term problem of occupational pension plans, and Table 14 shows how little retirement income the plans provided to people who retired at the low end of the income scale.

Much the same could be said of income from RRSPs or registered retirement savings plans. Very few poor seniors got income from RRSP annuities in 1997. In the vast majority of cases, that is because they could not afford to contribute to RRSPs before they retired.

Families and Unattached Individuals Under 65

A different picture emerges when we look at sources of income for poor people under 65. Earned income is often the major source of income, although welfare and unemployment insurance benefits are also important. Details are provided in Table 15 on the next page.

Earnings were the single most important source of income in 1997 for four of the five family types listed in Table 15, and they were the second most important source of income for poor single-parent families led by women. Earnings were reported by 58 percent of poor unattached men under 65, 53 per cent of poor unattached women under 65, 56 percent of poor childless couples under 65, 79 percent of poor couples under 65 with children under 18, and 50 percent of poor single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18.

The average amounts of earnings were noteworthy in all cases. The average of \$8,278 earned by poor single-parent mothers, for example, was equivalent to 34 weeks of work for 40 hours a week at a rate of \$6 an hour or 17 weeks of full-time work at \$12 an hour.

The percentage of poor people under 65 with income from earnings has slumped in recent years. The percentages for 1997 by family type all were lower than the figures for 1989 or 1990 prior to the start of the last recession.

A sizable portion of each of the five family types received welfare during 1997. Welfare payments were reported by 35 percent of the poor unattached men under 65, 33 percent of the poor unattached women under 65, 32 percent of the poor childless couples under 65, 32 percent of the poor couples under 65 with children under 18, and 61 percent of the poor single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18.

TABLE 15

SOURCES OF INCOME FOR POOR FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65, 1997

Source of Income	Unattached Men (584,000)		Unattached Women (470,000)		Couples without Children (209,000)		Couples with Children (375,000)		Single-Parent Mothers (340,000)	
	Percent Who Receive	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Receive	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Receive	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Receive	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Receive	Average Amount to Recipient
Earnings	58%	\$7,177	53%	\$7,059	56%	\$8,414	79%	\$13,811	50%	\$8,278
Welfare	35%	\$6,229	33%	\$6,577	32%	\$8,203	32%	\$8,888	61%	\$8,473
Unemployment Insurance	9%	\$3,553	7%	\$4,083	14%	\$4,019	18%	\$4,748	10%	\$4,033
Investments	8%	\$2,425	10%	\$2,645	19%	\$2,818	15%	\$2,180	5%	\$2,879
Child Tax Benefit	--	--	--	--	--	--	94%	\$3,178	100%	\$2,598
Canada & Quebec Pension Plans	9%	\$5,877	14%	\$5,145	25%	\$5,637	4%	\$5,815	5%	\$5,584
Occupational Pension Plans	--	--	3%	\$5,277	8%	\$7,422	--	--	--	--
Workers Compensation	2%	\$4,854	1%	\$3,985	5%	\$6,515	5%	\$7,620	--	--
Child and/or Spousal Support	--	--	2%	\$4,210	--	--	3%	\$4,219	17%	\$4,167
Income from All Sources	100%	\$8,257	100%	\$8,287	100%	\$12,033	100%	\$20,018	100%	\$14,666

Calculations by the National Council of Welfare for 1997 show that unattached people could have received provincial welfare and related benefits ranging between \$1,108 and \$6,623 a year, single parents with one child between \$9,268 and \$11,962, and couples with two children \$11,164 to \$15,458.³

Unemployment insurance benefits were reported in 1997 by nine percent of the poor unattached men under 65, seven percent of the poor unattached women under 65, 14 percent of the poor childless couples under 65, 18 percent of the poor couples under 65 with children under 18, and ten percent of the poor single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18.

In 1997, unemployment insurance replaced 60 percent of insurable earnings for beneficiaries with children and low earnings. The replacement rate was 55 percent of insurable earnings for other workers.

Between five and 19 percent of poor families and unattached individuals under 65 had income from investments, but the amounts received were modest.

The federal Child Tax Benefit was introduced in 1993 to replace Family Allowances, the refundable Child Tax Credit and the non-refundable credit for families with children under 18 who pay federal income tax. The maximum Child Tax Benefit in most parts of Canada in 1997 was \$1,233 for each child under age seven and \$1,020 for each child seven through 17. The rates were somewhat different in Quebec and Alberta at the request of the two provincial governments.⁴

As of July 1, 1998, the Child Tax Benefit was replaced by the Canada Child Tax Benefit, and increases in benefits were targeted at families who are not on welfare.

Canada and Quebec Pension Plan benefits were claimed by 14 percent of poor unattached women under 65, 25 percent of poor couples under 65 without children, and much smaller percentages of the three other family types. The Survey of Consumer Finances does not specify the type of benefit, but the recipients could have been people between 60 and 65 who took early retirement, widows or widowers who received survivor pensions from the plans, or people who got disability pensions. Similarly, people who got money from occupational pension plans could have received retirement, survivor or disability pensions.

Workers compensation was received by a very small percentage of poor families and unattached individuals. As in the case of pensions, however, it was an important source of income to the people who received it.

Finally, Table 15 shows that 17 percent of poor single-parent mothers under 65 received support payments in 1997, and the average amount received was \$4,167. Two percent of poor unattached women under 65 and three percent of couples with children under 18 received support payments from former spouses.

While the data in Table 15 are enlightening, they do not give a clear picture of typical combinations of income. Obviously, some poor people have only one main source of income and others have more than one.

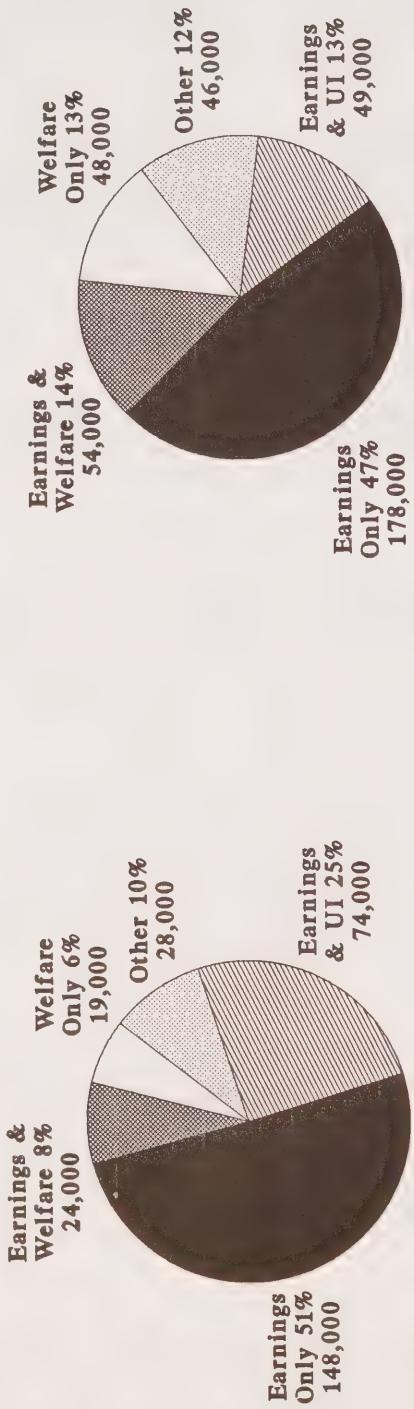
The National Council of Welfare asked Statistics Canada to do special data tabulations to differentiate the poor families and unattached individuals in Table 15 according to their primary source or sources of income. Primary sources of income for people under 65 were assumed to be earnings, welfare and unemployment insurance.

The result was a series of data runs based on different combinations of income: earnings alone, welfare alone, earnings and welfare together, and earnings and UI together. Other possible combinations, such as welfare and UI but not earnings, produced breakdowns too small to be used.

Graphs AD-1 and AD-3 on the next page show the distributions for poor couples under 65 with children under 18 in 1980 and 1997.⁵ The three slices of the pies that included earnings - earnings only, earnings and welfare, and earnings and UI - added up to 84 percent in 1980 but only 74 percent in 1997. Meanwhile, the slices that represented welfare only grew from six percent in 1980 to 13 percent in 1997.

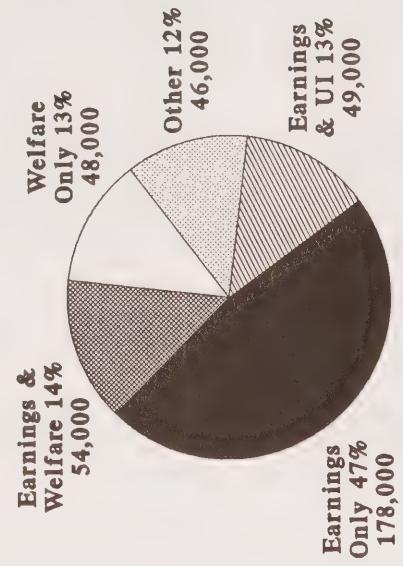
The pattern is just as pronounced in the pies for single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 shown in Graphs AD-2 and AD-4. The earnings-related slices added up to 54 percent in 1980 and 47 percent in 1997. The welfare-only slices were 33 percent in 1980 and 40 percent in 1997.

Primary Sources of Income for Poor Couples Under 65 With Children, 1980



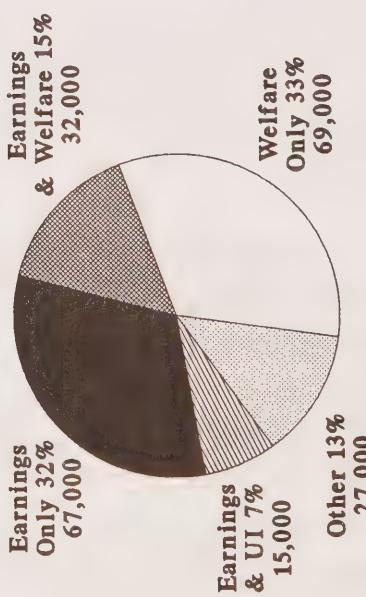
Graph AD-1

Primary Sources of Income for Poor Couples Under 65 With Children, 1997



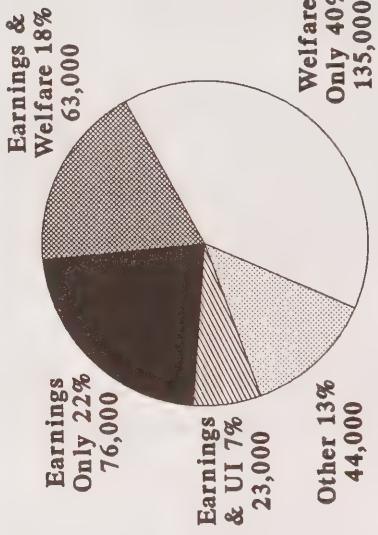
Graph AD-3

Primary Sources of Income for Poor Single-Parent Mothers Under 65, 1980



Graph AD-2

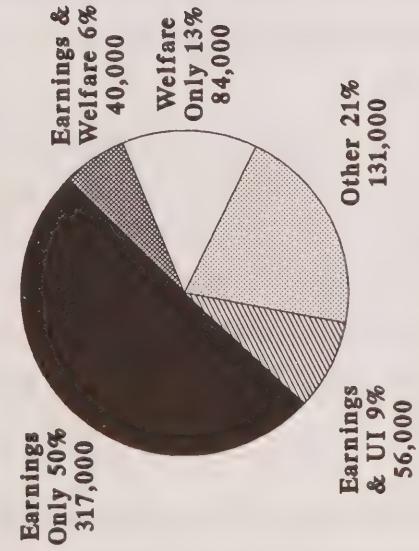
Primary Sources of Income for Poor Single-Parent Mothers Under 65, 1997



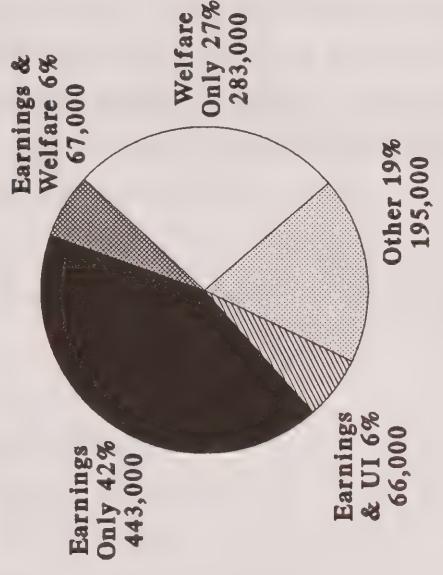
Graph AD-4

Primary Sources of Income for Poor Unattached Individuals Under 65, 1980

Primary Sources of Income for Poor Unattached Individuals Under 65, 1997



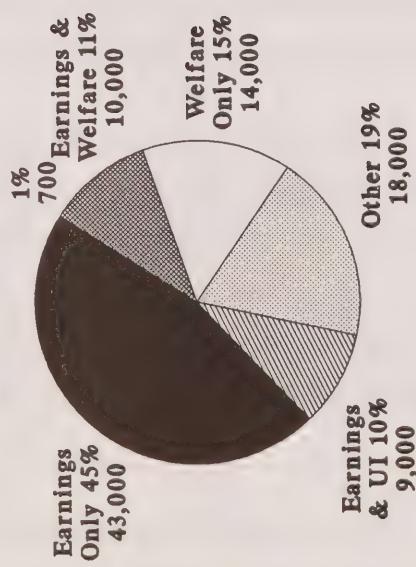
Graph AE-1



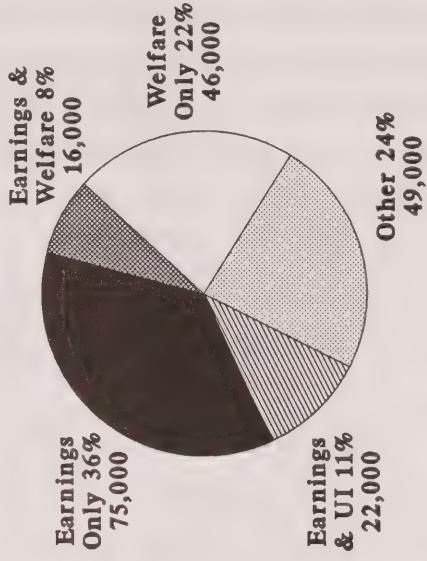
Graph AE-3

Primary Sources of Income for Poor Childless Couples Under 65, 1980

Primary Sources of Income for Poor Childless Couples Under 65, 1997



Graph AE-2



Graph AE-4

Similar patterns appear in Graphs AE-1 through AE-4 on the previous page for unattached individuals under 65 and couples under 65 without children. For the unattached persons, the earnings-related slices went from 65 percent to 54 percent and the welfare-only slices grew from 13 percent to 27 percent. For the childless couples, the earnings-related slices shrank from 65 percent to 55 percent and the welfare-only slices grew from 15 percent to 22 percent.

Information is also available on the amounts of income received by the family types shown on the last two pages of graph.

Table 16 on the next page gives the total incomes and amounts of different types of incomes in 1997 for couples under 65 with children under 18 and single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. The table separates families with earnings as their primary source of income from families with earnings and unemployment insurance, earnings and welfare, or welfare only as their primary sources of income.

Both earnings and unemployment insurance are taxable income, but the amounts are so low that most of the poor families in the table would not have paid income taxes. Some of the couples with earnings or earnings plus UI might have paid a token amount of income tax, but the rest of the couples and most of the single-parent families likely paid no income tax at all.

The information in Table 16 relates directly to the concerns of the National Council of Welfare about the "clawback" of federal child benefits by provincial and territorial governments under the new Canada Child Tax Benefit. When the new system came into effect, only Newfoundland and New Brunswick decided not to claw back the increase in federal benefits from families on welfare.⁶ The figures in the table are for 1997, before the new benefit and the clawback were in effect, but there is no reason to believe the patterns would be any different today.

One of the striking features of the table is that families with welfare as their primary source of income had total average incomes several thousand dollars lower than families with earnings as their primary source of income. In other words, the poorest of poor families with children were also the families most likely to see their benefits clawed back.

TABLE 16

**INCOMES OF POOR FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN
BY PRIMARY SOURCES OF INCOME, 1997**

	Couples under 65 with Children under 18	Single-Parent Mothers under 65 with Children under 18
Earnings as Primary Source of Income		
Total Average Income	\$21,239	\$16,628
Average Earnings	\$15,690	\$11,006
Child Benefits	\$3,078	\$2,487
Earnings and Unemployment Insurance as Primary Sources of Income		
Total Average Income	\$24,064	\$17,164
Average Earnings	\$14,654	\$9,241
Average UI	\$4,736	\$3,694
Child Benefits	\$3,452	\$2,493
Earnings and Welfare as Primary Sources of Income		
Total Average Income	\$20,984	\$17,111
Average Earnings	\$8,230	\$5,007
Average Welfare	\$7,408	\$7,436
Child Benefits	\$3,135	\$2,570
Welfare as Primary Source of Income		
Total Average Income	\$17,536	\$13,346
Average Welfare	\$11,848	\$9,205
Child Benefits	\$3,513	\$2,747

Families who have both earnings and welfare as primary sources of income also have some of their federal child benefits clawed back by provincial and territorial governments. One

of the stated purposes of the Canada Child Tax Benefit is to encourage people on welfare to take jobs in the paid labour force. The families with both earnings and welfare like the families in Table 16 have already taken steps to enter or remain in the labour force, but they get clawed back nonetheless.

TABLE 17

**INCOMES OF POOR FAMILY TYPES UNDER 65 WITHOUT CHILDREN
BY PRIMARY SOURCES OF INCOME, 1997**

	Unattached Individuals under 65	Childless Couples under 65
Earnings as Primary Source of Income		
Total Average Income	\$8,838	\$11,936
Average Earnings	\$7,719	\$9,220
Earnings and Unemployment Insurance as Primary Sources of Income		
Total Average Income	\$11,539	\$14,322
Average Earnings	\$7,608	\$8,148
Average UI	\$3,346	\$4,107
Earnings and Welfare as Primary Sources of Income		
Total Average Income	\$8,111	\$13,667
Average Earnings	\$2,951	\$5,784
Average Welfare	\$4,553	\$6,596
Welfare as Primary Source of Income		
Total Average Income	\$7,952	\$10,981
Average Welfare	\$6,992	\$8,962

Table 17 shows similar income data for poor unattached people under 65 and poor couples under 65 without children. Poor people in these two family types do not receive federal child benefits, so the table shows total average income, average earnings, average UI benefits and average welfare benefits only.

Once again, the poor unattached people or childless couples would have paid little or no income tax in 1997 because their incomes were so small.

VII. DURATION OF POVERTY

Two of the big gaps in our knowledge of poverty in Canada have been information about the length of time people spend in poverty and information about how people move in and out of poverty throughout their lives. These gaps are finally being filled thanks to Statistics Canada's new Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID).

SLID is a longitudinal survey that tracks the same people for six years at a stretch rather than one year only and enables researchers to find out how their financial circumstances changed each year. The first published data from SLID cover 1993, and the most recent published data come from 1996. That gives us four years of data to work with and provides a good first look at poverty in Canada over time.

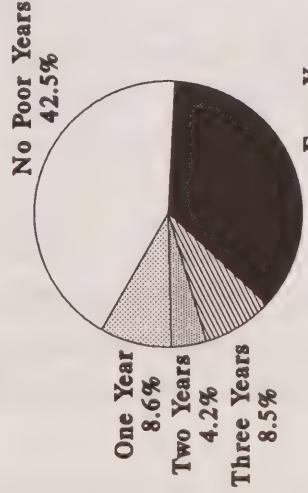
Unfortunately, some of the data and published research results from SLID are not entirely compatible with the data from the Survey of Consumer Finances that we feature in other chapters of this report. The information in the graphs covers family types of all ages rather than differentiating between families and individuals under or over 65. The information in the table later in the chapter covers people 16 and older rather than using the more common category of people 18 and older.

These differences aside, the longitudinal data from SLID provide important new insights into the persistence of poverty among certain high-risk groups of Canadians.

Graphs AF-1 through AF-4 on the next page show the number of years that different family types spent in and out of poverty from 1993 through 1996.⁷ The pie in each graph is made up of families or unattached individuals who spent one year, two years, three years or four years in poverty and those who were not poor at any time during the four-year period.

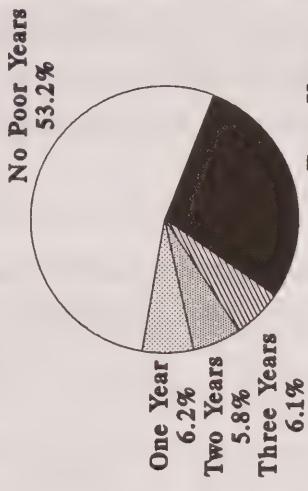
Graph AF-1, for example, shows that 8.6 percent of the lone-parent families in Canada were poor for one year, 4.2 percent were poor for two years, 8.5 percent were poor for three years, 36.2 percent were poor for all four years, and the remaining 42.5 percent managed to stay out of poverty all four years.

Years in Poverty, 1993-1996, Using Before-Tax Poverty Lines



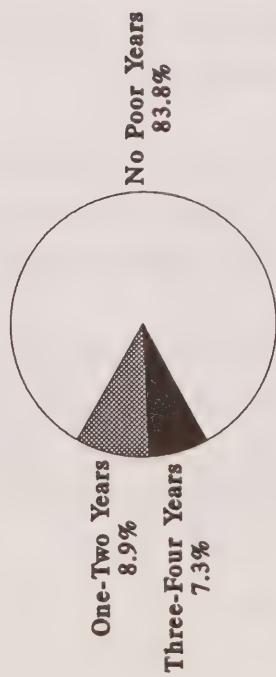
% Distribution of
Lone Parents
Graph AF-1

Years in Poverty, 1993-1996, Using Before-Tax Poverty Lines

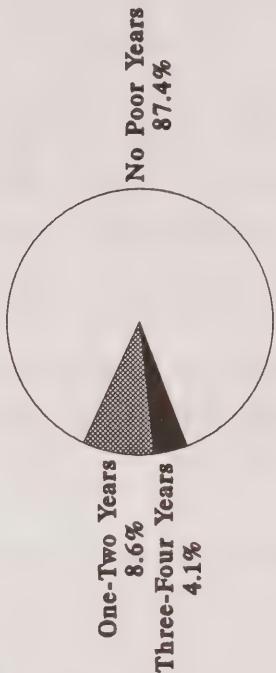


% Distribution of
Unattached Persons
Graph AF-3

Years in Poverty, 1993-1996, Using Before-Tax Poverty Lines



% Distribution of
Couples with Children
Graph AF-2



% Distribution of
Childless Couples
Graph AF-4

Seen another way, a total of 57.5 percent of lone-parent families were poor for at least one year from 1993 through 1996, and a significant portion of the group (the 36.2 percent represented by the black slice of the pie) was poor all four years. That does not come as a complete surprise, because we know from other sources that young single parents under age 25 have extremely high poverty rates. We also know that poverty rates are highest when the children of single parents are young and that the poverty rates fall once the children reach school age.

It remains to be seen how the pie will look once the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics has data for ten or 20 years and can plot movements in and out of poverty over long periods of time.

Graph AF-3 on unattached persons is very much like the graph for lone-parent families. Although 53.2 percent of unattached persons were not poor any year from 1993 through 1996, 28.8 percent were poor all four years. A sizable number of the people in the pie may have had disabilities or long-term health problems or were people over 65 who were living on their own because they were widowed.

Couples with children and couples without children were much more likely to stay out of poverty year after year.

One of the other advantages of the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics is that it contains new information on people with disabilities, people who are members of visible minorities, immigrants and students. The data are summarized in Table 18 on the next page.

For each of the categories, the table shows the percentage of people 16 years old and older who were poor at least one year from 1993 through 1996 and then breaks down that figure into the percentage of people who were poor for one year, two years, three years or all four years. All the data were calculated using low income cut-offs after income tax rather than the usual pre-tax LICOs.⁸

TABLE 18

**PERCENTAGE OF PEOPLE 16 AND OLDER BY YEARS IN POVERTY
USING AFTER-TAX POVERTY LINES, 1993-1996**

	At Least One Year	One Year	Two Years	Three Years	All Four Years
Work Limitation Status					
Work Limitation	40%	10%	5%	8%	17%
No Work Limitation	18%	7%	4%	3%	4%
Visible Minority Status					
Visible Minority	31%	5%	5%	4%	17%
Not a Visible Minority	19%	8%	4%	3%	4%
Immigration Status					
Born in Canada	19%	8%	4%	3%	4%
Immigrated before 1977	14%	6%	3%	3%	3%
Immigrated 1977-1986	39%	---	13%	---	15%
Immigrated 1987-	43%	7%	6%	9%	21%
Student Status					
Not a Student	17%	6%	4%	3%	5%
Student for One Year	23%	10%	5%	4%	5%
Student for Two Years	31%	12%	8%	7%	5%
Student for Three Years	30%	10%	8%	5%	7%
Student for Four Years	34%	10%	8%	4%	11%

The table shows, for example, that 40 percent of the people with some kind of work limitation were poor at least one year from 1993 through 1996. The 40 percent was made up of ten percent who were poor for only one year, five percent for two years, eight percent for

three years and 17 percent for all four years. Meanwhile, only 18 percent of the people who did not have any work limitations were poor for at least one year during the four-year period.

Members of visible minority groups had a substantially higher risk of poverty over time. A total of 31 percent were poor at least one year, and 17 percent were poor all four years. People who were not members of visible minority groups had a 19 percent risk of poverty over the four-year period, but only four percent were poor all four years.

Among immigrants, the risk of poverty was high for the people who came to Canada from 1977 through 1986 and the people who arrived in 1987 or later. A sizable portion of those people were poor for the entire period 1993 through 1996. The comparable figures for people born in Canada were 19 percent who were poor at least one year and four percent who were poor for the entire four years.

Among students 16 and older, the risk of poverty overall increased with the number of years in school. However, the figures show more short-term poverty and relatively little longer-term poverty. Even among people who were students for all four years, 34 percent were poor at some time during the four years. That 34 percent was split roughly three ways: one-third of the students were poor for only one year, one-third for two or three years, and remaining one-third for all four years.

VIII. A CLOSER LOOK AT GROUPS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

The Low-Wage Poor

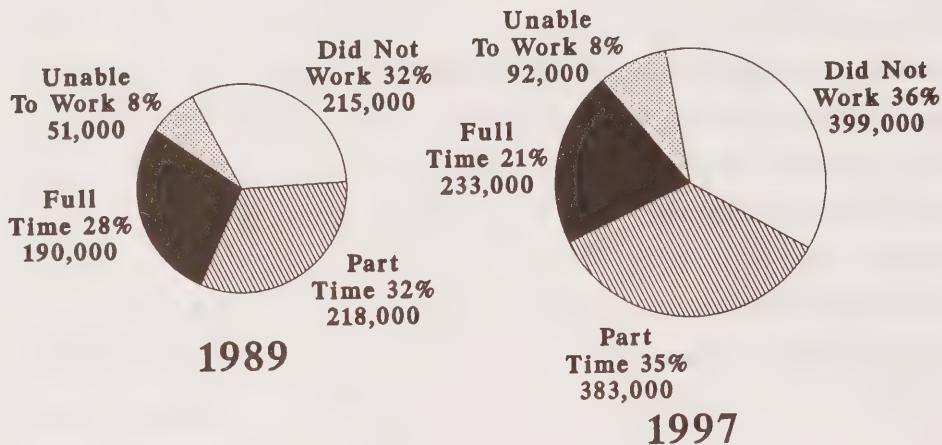
The low-wage poor or "working poor" are poor people who are normally in the labour force. Some researchers reserve the term for poor people who have full-time jobs for virtually the entire year. Others include poor people who have strong ties to the labour market regardless of the number of weeks worked or the normal hours of work each week.⁹

Graphs AG-1 and AG-2 on the next page show the distribution of poor heads of families and poor unattached individuals by their work activity in 1989 and 1997. Statistics Canada split the data for these graphs into four broad categories: people who worked full time, people who worked part time, people who were permanently unable to work because of a disability or poor health, and people who were able to work but did not. Full time means the person worked at least 49 weeks during the year and the normal work week was 30 hours or more. Part time means the person worked either less than 49 weeks or less than 30 hours a week or both.

In 1989, there were a total of 674,000 poor families with heads under 65, as shown in the left-hand portion of Graph AG-1. Twenty-eight percent of the poor family heads worked full time, 32 percent worked part time, 32 percent did not work at all, and the remaining eight percent were unable to work. The number of poor families was up to 1,108,000 in 1997, and there was a shift away from full-time work to part-time work or no work at all. The slice of the pie representing family heads unable to work stayed proportionately the same as it was in 1989, eight percent.

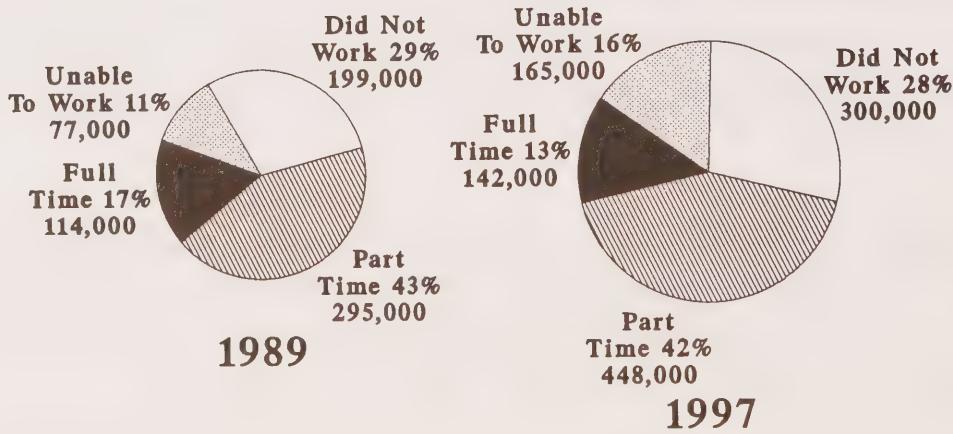
The patterns are slightly different for the poor unattached individuals shown in Graph AG-2 on the bottom half of the page. In 1989, 17 percent worked full time, 43 percent worked part time, 29 percent did not work and 11 percent were unable to work. In 1997, the full time group was down the most and the group unable to work was up the most.

Work Activity by Family Heads Under 65



Graph AG-1

Work Activity by Unattached Individuals Under 65



Graph AG-2

Another way to define the low-wage poor is families and unattached individuals living below the poverty line who get at least half of their total income from employment. This definition puts aside the distinction between full-time and part-time work and focuses on poor people who spend a substantial part of the year in paid jobs.

Using this definition, Statistics Canada identified a total of 445,000 families with heads under 65 and 470,000 unattached individuals under 65 who made up the low-wage poor in 1997. Table 19 on the next page gives the details for the five main family types under 65. For the purposes of Table 19, Statistics Canada excluded people who were permanently unable to work, the group described as the unable to work group in the previous graphs.

Earnings were the most important source of income for a sizable portion of four of the five family types shown. Fifty-four percent of the poor unattached men under 65, 51 percent of the poor unattached women, 45 percent of the poor couples without children and 61 percent of the poor couples with children were working poor. The exception to the rule was single-parent mothers. Only 26 percent of the poor single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 got half or more of their total income from earnings.

The lower part of Table 19 shows the average incomes of the low-wage poor and the importance of their earnings. Average earnings for unattached men and women, for example, were the equivalent of 35 weeks of work at \$6 an hour for 40 hours a week. Average earnings for families were substantially higher, suggesting that family heads either received higher wage rates or had a second wage-earner in the family.

The table also suggests that few low-wage poor families or unattached people relied very much on welfare or unemployment insurance, since the average amounts of income aside from earnings were small. Probably most of the other income came from programs such as the federal GST credit or federal Child Tax Benefit.

Although the figures were limited to poor people with earnings that amounted to at least half of total income, the last row of the table shows that a much larger portion of total income typically came from earnings. Earnings accounted for between 73 percent and 91 percent of total income for the different family types.

TABLE 19

**POOR FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65
WITH EARNINGS EQUAL TO 50 PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL INCOME, 1997**

	Unattached Men	Unattached Women	Childless Couples	Couples with Children	Single-Parent Mothers
Total Number of Poor Families or Unattached People*	496,000	394,000	177,000	350,000	326,000
Number with Earnings of 50 Percent or More of Total Income	270,000	200,000	79,000	212,000	84,000
Percentage with Earnings of 50 Percent or More of Total Income	54%	51%	45%	61%	26%
Average Annual Earnings	\$8,346	\$8,268	\$10,860	\$17,082	\$12,986
Average Income from Sources Other than Earnings	\$985	\$836	\$2,115	\$5,478	\$4,697
Average Total Income	\$9,331	\$9,104	\$12,975	\$22,560	\$17,683
Earnings as a Percentage of Total Income	89%	91%	84%	76%	73%

* The table excludes people 65 and older and people permanently unable to work.

In recent years, the number of working poor families and unattached individuals under 65 has been growing, but not as fast as the number of poor people who are able to work. Between 1989 and 1997, for example, the number of poor couples under 65 with children under 18 rose by 46 percent, from 239,000 families to 350,000 families. The number of working poor couples with children rose only 40 percent, from 152,000 families to 212,000 families.

Children

Child poverty rates are a reflection of parental poverty rates and tend to rise or fall as economic conditions deteriorate or improve. The most striking difference year after year is the huge gulf between the poverty rates for children in two-parent families and the rates for children of single-parent mothers. There are also important differences from province to province.

Table 20 on the next page gives the 1997 poverty rates and the number of children living in poverty by family type and province. The category poor children in all family types includes a small number of children who do not fall into either of the two main family types listed. The national total of 1,384,000 poor children, for example, included 78,000 poor children under 18 living in less common family circumstances. Some of them lived with single-parent fathers under 65, parents who were 65 or older, or relatives other than parents.

The overall poverty rate for children fell from 20.9 percent in 1996 to 19.6 percent in 1997, and the number of poor children fell from 1,481,000 to 1,384,000. The lowest provincial child poverty rate was 14.5 percent in Prince Edward Island, and the highest was 23.3 percent in Newfoundland. The national poverty rate for poor children in two-parent families was 12.7 percent, and provincial rates went from a low of 7.5 percent in Saskatchewan to a high of 17.7 percent in Newfoundland. The poverty rates for children of single-parent mothers were abysmally high. The national rate was 60.4 percent, and the range was from 51.5 percent in British Columbia to 75.2 percent in Newfoundland.

TABLE 20
CHILDREN UNDER 18 LIVING IN POVERTY, 1997

	Poor Children in All Family Types		Poor Children of Two-Parent Families under 65		Poor Children of Single-Parent Mothers under 65	
	Number of Children	Poverty Rate	Number of Children	Poverty Rate	Number of Children	Poverty Rate
Newfoundland	30,000	23.3%	20,000	17.7%	8,000	75.2%
Prince Edward Island	5,000	14.5%	2,000	7.9%	3,000	63.4%
Nova Scotia	46,000	21.2%	20,000	11.6%	23,000	69.7%
New Brunswick	34,000	20.2%	19,000	13.4%	12,000	58.5%
Quebec	343,000	20.9%	175,000	13.3%	148,000	61.1%
Ontario	537,000	19.8%	304,000	13.6%	207,000	60.6%
Manitoba	58,000	21.5%	28,000	12.6%	28,000	70.2%
Saskatchewan	48,000	18.6%	15,000	7.5%	30,000	65.6%
Alberta	116,000	15.8%	61,000	9.9%	51,000	58.2%
British Columbia	166,000	18.7%	90,000	12.6%	61,000	51.5%
Canada	1,384,000	19.6%	735,000	12.7%	571,000	60.4%

Between 1996 and 1997, poverty rates for children fell in every province except Newfoundland and New Brunswick.

One of the long-standing myths about child poverty is that most poor children live in single-parent households. Table 20 shows that this is not the case for Canada as a whole. In

1997, 735,000 poor children lived in two-parent families under 65, while 571,000 poor children lived in single-parent families headed by women under 65.

Nonetheless, the proportion of poor children living with single-parent mothers has grown substantially in recent years. As Graph AH shows, 33 percent of all poor children in 1980 lived in families headed by single-parent mothers, and most of the rest lived in two-parent families. In 1997, the percentage of poor children with single-parent mothers was up to 41 percent and the percentage living with both parents was down to 53 percent. The pies are proportional, to underline the point that the number of poor children was up dramatically between 1980 and 1997.

Poor Children by Family Type, 1980 and 1997

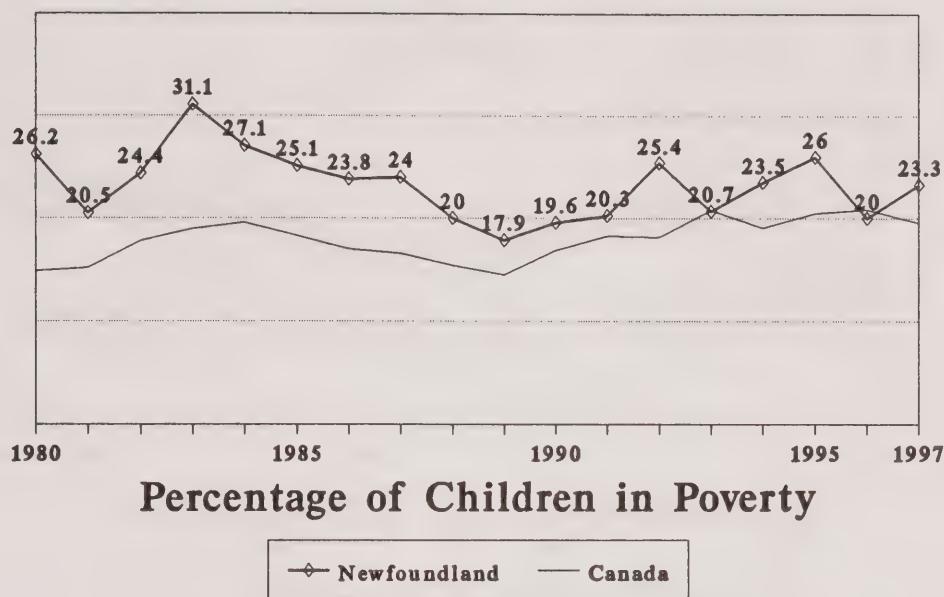


Graph AH

Provincial trends in child poverty are shown in the graphs on the following five pages. Each graph gives overall child poverty rates from 1980 through 1997. For purposes of comparison, each graph also contains a line without percentages that traces the national child poverty rate.

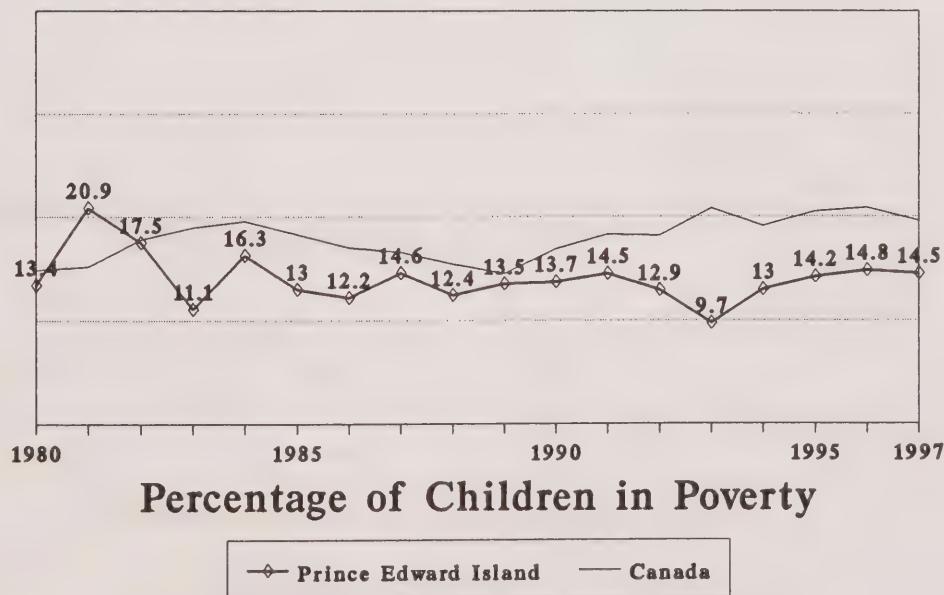
Prince Edward Island and Ontario had child poverty rates that were below average for most of the period. Newfoundland, Quebec and Manitoba were generally higher than average. Rates in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia were mixed.

Newfoundland



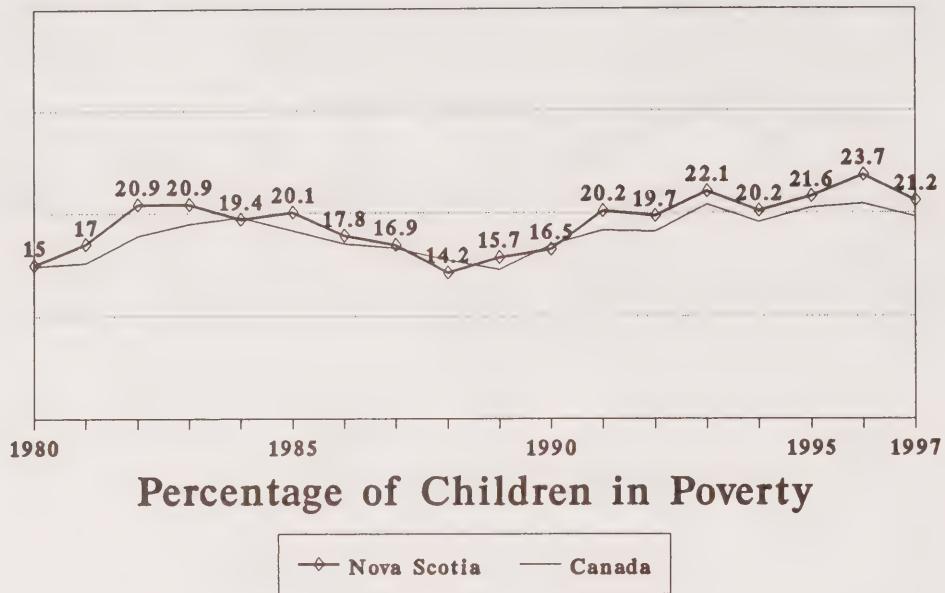
Graph AI-1

Prince Edward Island



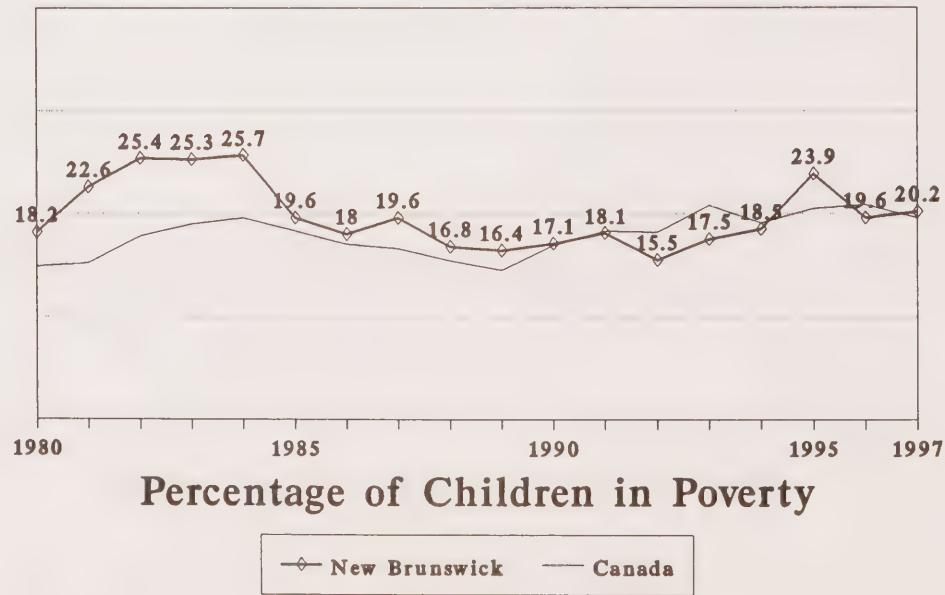
Graph AI-2

Nova Scotia



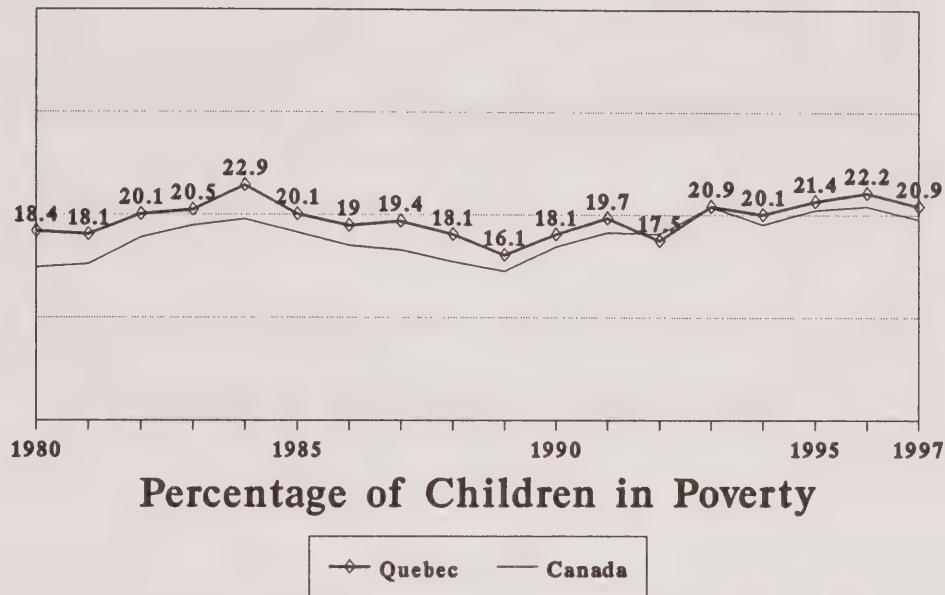
Graph AJ-1

New Brunswick



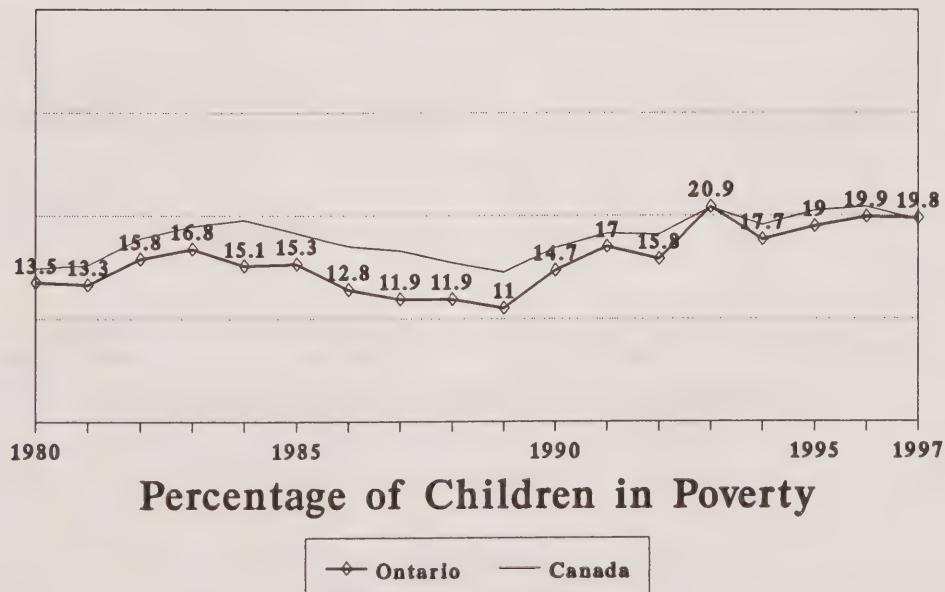
Graph AJ-2

Quebec



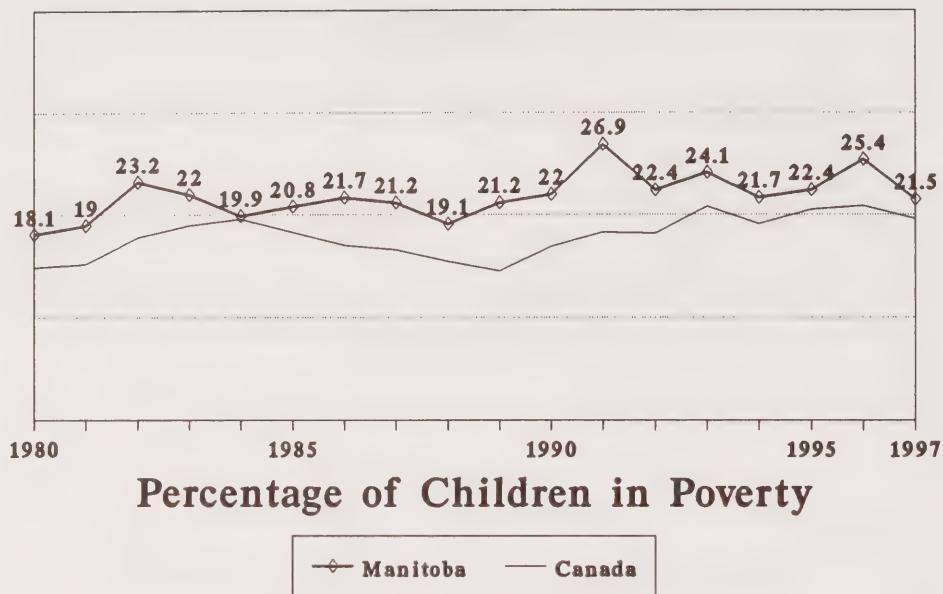
Graph AK-1

Ontario



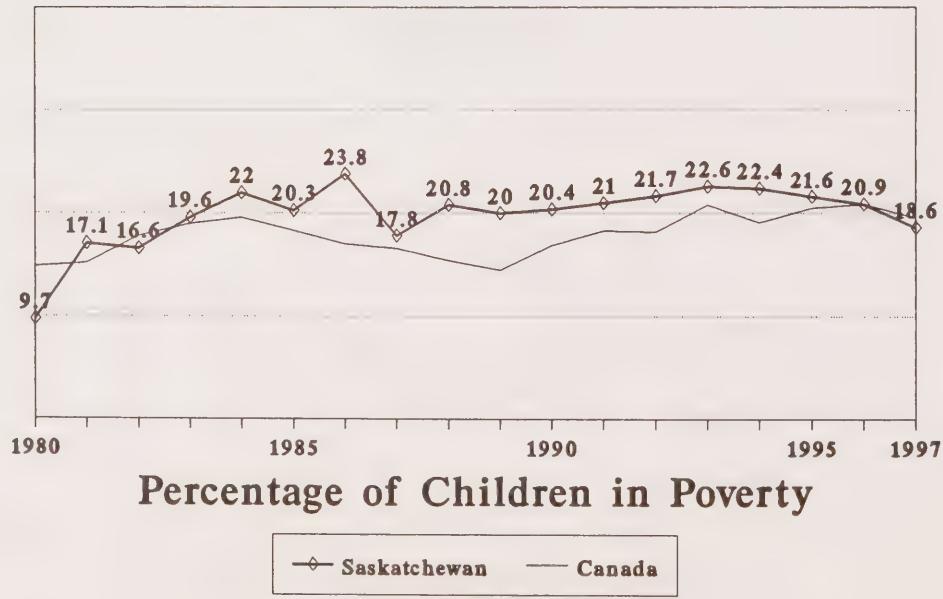
Graph AK-2

Manitoba



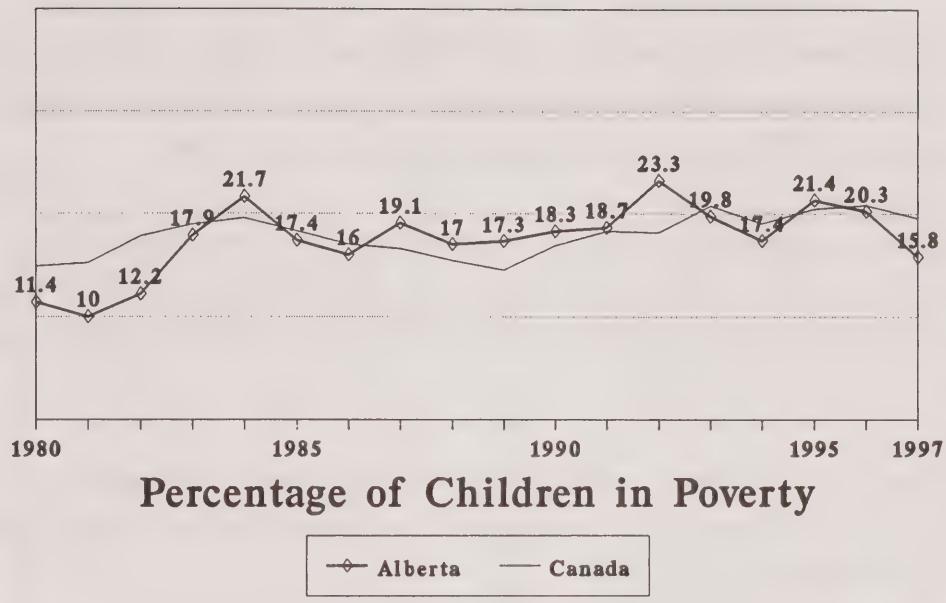
Graph AL-1

Saskatchewan



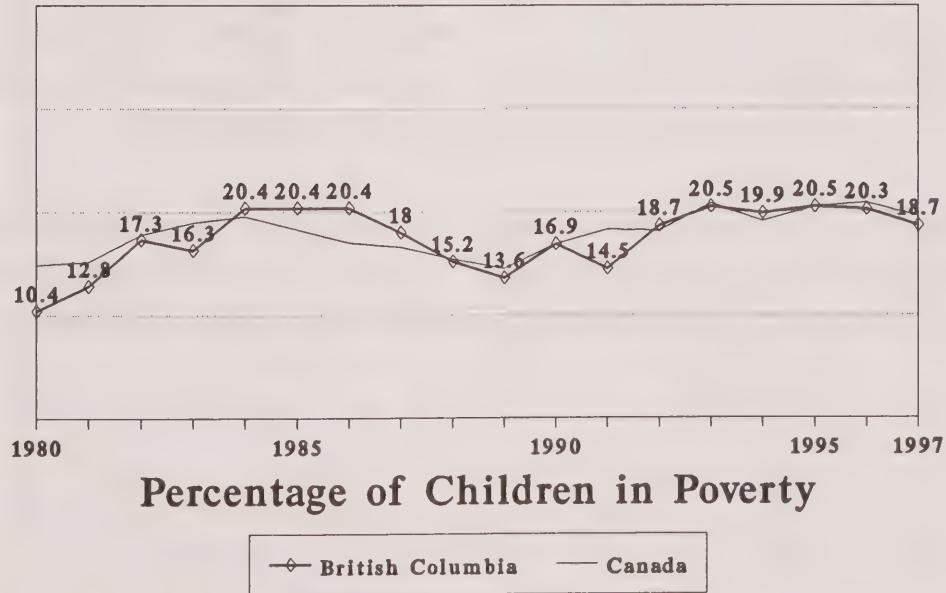
Graph AL-2

Alberta



Graph AM-1

British Columbia



Graph AM-2

Women

As we showed earlier, women face a significantly higher risk of poverty than men. Table 21 on the next page gives the poverty rates for women and men age 18 and older for the years 1980 through 1997, and ratio of female to male rates each year.

In 1980, the poverty rate for adult women was 18 percent, the rate for adult men was 12.7 percent, and the rate for women was 1.42 times the rate for men. In 1997, the poverty rate for women was 18.3 percent, the rate for men was 14.3 percent and the ratio between the sexes was 1.28.

The year-to-year poverty rates for women and men tend to follow the ups and downs in the economy. The gap between the sexes appears to narrow slightly in tough economic times, but the changes in the ratio are small.

Most of the differences between the sexes can be explained by the high poverty rates of three family types: unattached women under 65, unattached women 65 and older, and single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. The 1997 poverty rate for unattached women under 65 was 38.5 percent, compared to 33.4 percent for unattached men under 65. For unattached seniors, the poverty rates were 42 percent for women and 27.2 percent for men. Single-parent families led by women with children under 18 had a poverty rate of 57.1 percent in 1997, a rate many times higher than the rates for married couples.

Aside from these three high-risk groups of women, there were no significant differences in the poverty rates for adult women and men. The vast majority of families are husband-wife families, and the poverty rates for husbands and wives are identical in all these cases.

TABLE 17

TRENDS IN POVERTY AMONG WOMEN AND MEN 18 AND OLDER

	Women		Men		Ratio of Female to Male Poverty Rates
	Poverty Rate	Number of Poor	Poverty Rate	Number of Poor	
1980	18.0%	1,565,000	12.7%	1,058,000	1.42
1981	17.8%	1,567,000	12.6%	1,063,000	1.40
1982	18.1%	1,624,000	13.6%	1,160,000	1.33
1983	20.1%	1,836,000	15.4%	1,334,000	1.30
1984	19.7%	1,817,000	14.9%	1,304,000	1.31
1985	18.8%	1,754,000	14.0%	1,240,000	1.34
1986	17.7%	1,677,000	13.4%	1,197,000	1.31
1987	17.4%	1,673,000	12.9%	1,176,000	1.34
1988	17.1%	1,664,000	11.7%	1,081,000	1.46
1989	15.5%	1,534,000	10.7%	1,001,000	1.45
1990	16.2%	1,622,000	11.3%	1,079,000	1.43
1991	17.3%	1,767,000	12.7%	1,234,000	1.36
1992	17.4%	1,804,000	13.1%	1,289,000	1.33
1993	18.5%	1,949,000	13.9%	1,398,000	1.33
1994	18.1%	2,011,000	13.4%	1,434,000	1.35
1995	18.2%	2,059,000	14.3%	1,556,000	1.27
1996	18.8%	2,143,000	14.1%	1,555,000	1.33
1997	18.3%	2,125,000	14.3%	1,602,000	1.28

In younger husband-wife families, one fact that deserves special mention is the role women play in keeping their families out of poverty through their earnings. Although women

earn less on average than men and face a number of barriers to equal participation in the labour force, their contribution is essential in keeping family poverty rates relatively low.

To get a better idea of the importance of the earnings of married women, we asked Statistics Canada to take its 1997 income data on husband-wife families under age 65, subtract the earnings of the wives, and calculate hypothetical poverty rates for families with the wives' earnings removed. The results appear in Table 22.

TABLE 22

**POVERTY RATES FOR HUSBAND-WIFE FAMILIES UNDER AGE 65,
WITH AND WITHOUT THE EARNINGS OF WIVES, 1997**

	Percentage of Families Who Were Poor in 1997	Percentage of Families Who Would Have Been Poor Without the Earnings of Wives
Newfoundland	15.2%	25.1%
Prince Edward Island	5.9%	22.8%
Nova Scotia	11.1%	24.1%
New Brunswick	10.9%	22.1%
Quebec	12.4%	23.6%
Ontario	10.2%	21.2%
Manitoba	9.7%	21.5%
Saskatchewan	8.4%	23.0%
Alberta	9.2%	20.9%
British Columbia	10.8%	21.8%
Canada	10.8%	22.1%

The actual 1997 poverty rate for all husband-wife families under age 65 was 10.8 percent, and a total of 625,000 families were living in poverty. With the earnings of wives removed and everything else remaining the same, the poverty rate would have jumped to 22.1 percent, and the number of families living in poverty would have more than doubled to 1,283,000.

The pattern was more or less the same across the country. If wives had stayed out of the paid labour force in 1997 and everything else had stayed the same, poverty rates and the number of poor families would have been much higher in all provinces.

Seniors

Fighting poverty among seniors has been one of Canada's biggest success stories in social policy during the latter part of the 20th century. Poverty rates for people 65 and older have fallen dramatically over the years and continue to fall more or less steadily.

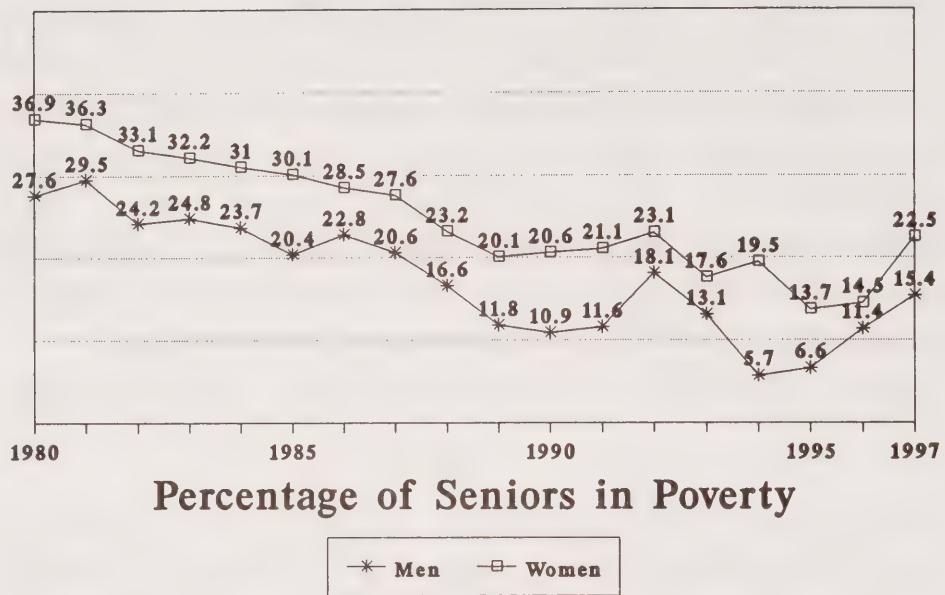
In 1997, the poverty rate for women 65 and older fell to an all-time low of 21.6 percent. That pushed the overall poverty rate for seniors down to a near-record low of 17 percent. The record low for senior men and women combined was 16.9 percent in 1995.

Ontario had a record low poverty rate for seniors of 12.9 percent in 1997, and Quebec had a near-record low of 25.8 percent. Ontario also had a record low rate for senior women of 16.5 percent.

On the other hand, poverty rates for both women and men 65 and over were up in 1997 in Newfoundland, New Brunswick and British Columbia, and poverty rates for senior men were up in Nova Scotia and Alberta.

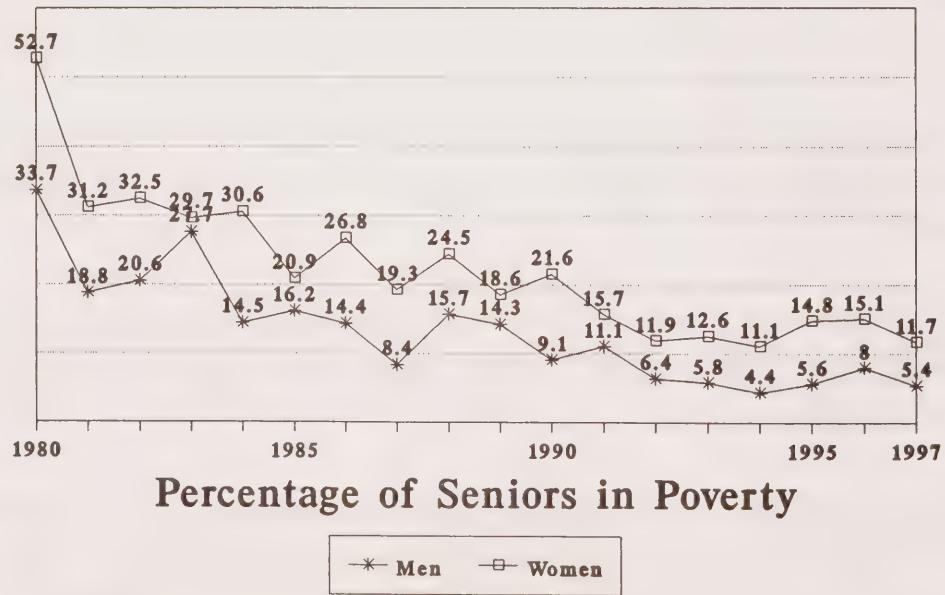
In all provinces, the poverty rates for senior men remain well below the rates for senior women. As well, the long-term decline in poverty rates has been sharper for men than for women. Details of the rates for women and men in all provinces from 1980 through 1997 are shown in the graphs on the next five pages.

Newfoundland



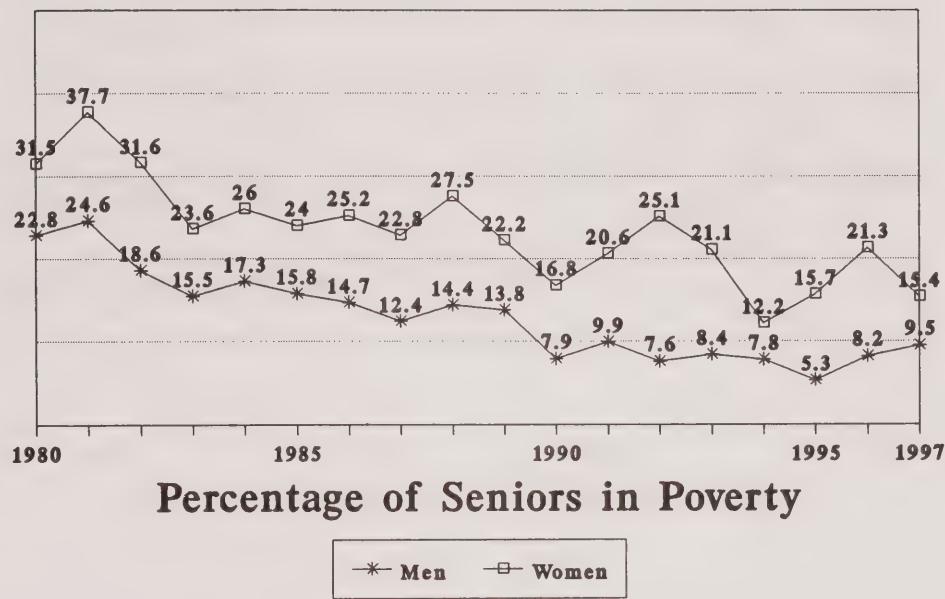
Graph AN-1

Prince Edward Island



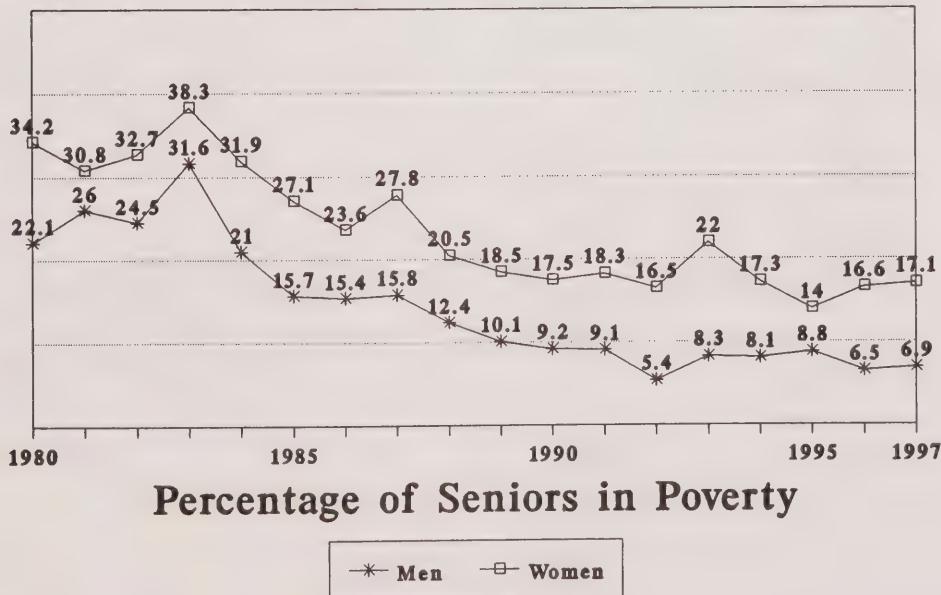
Graph AN-2

Nova Scotia



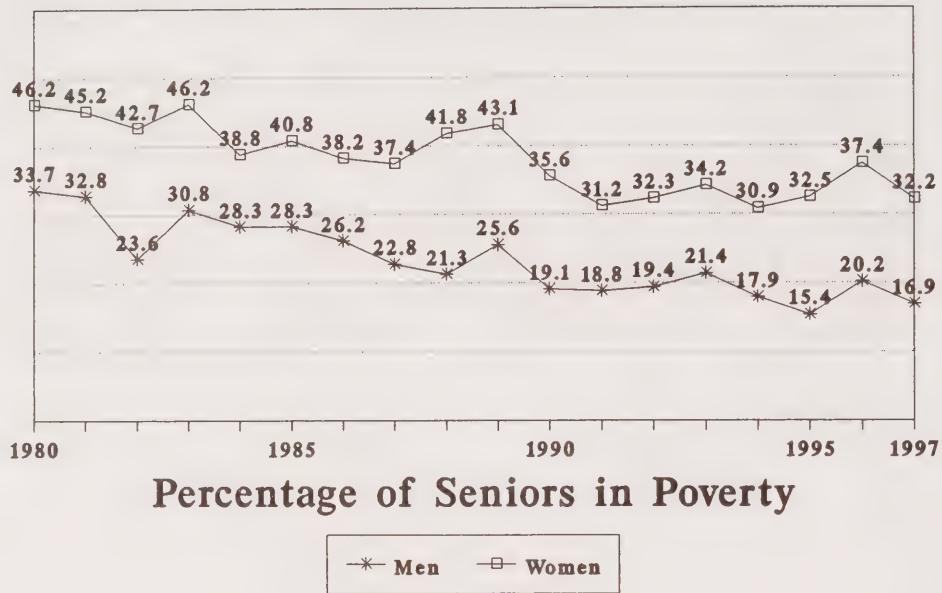
Graph AO-1

New Brunswick



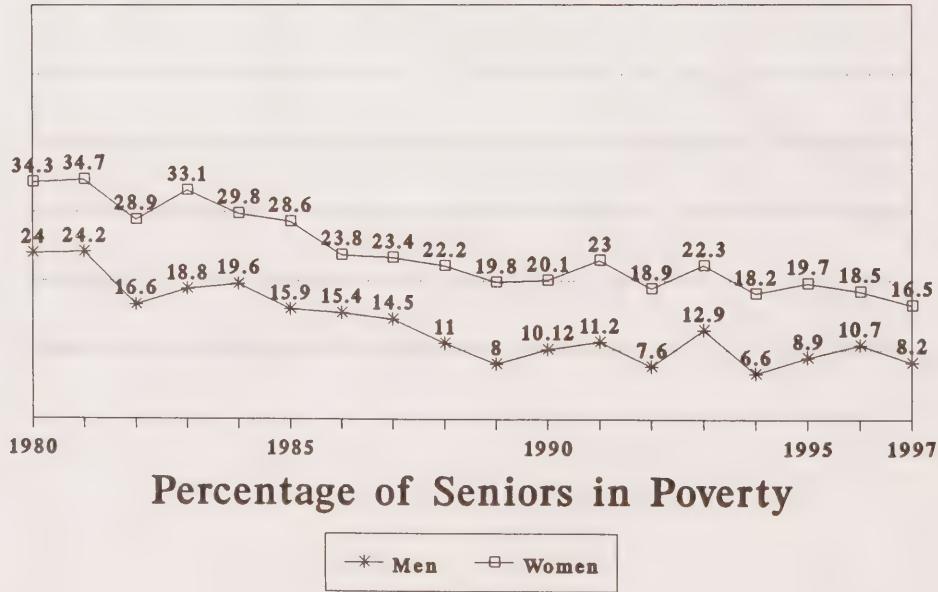
Graph AO-2

Quebec



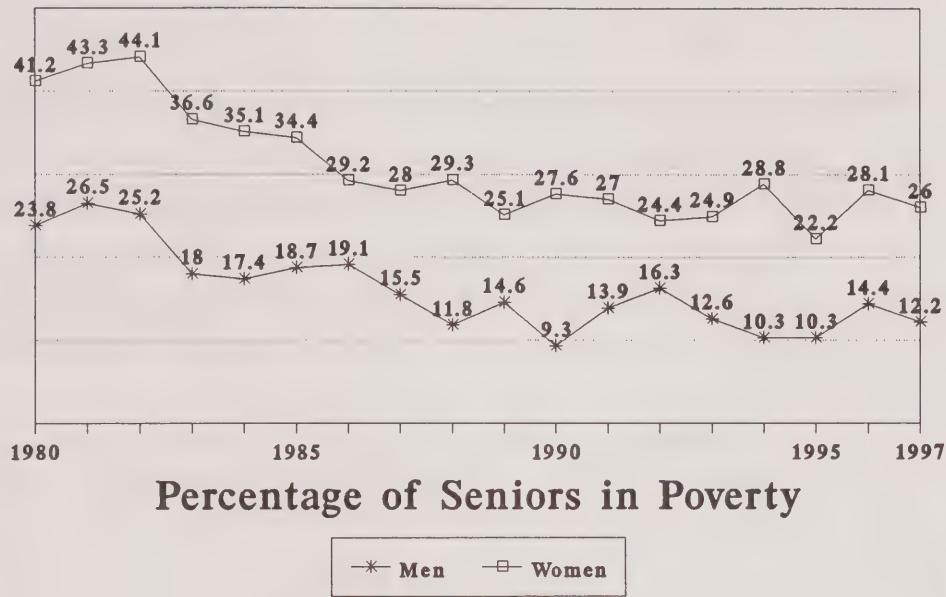
Graph AP-1

Ontario



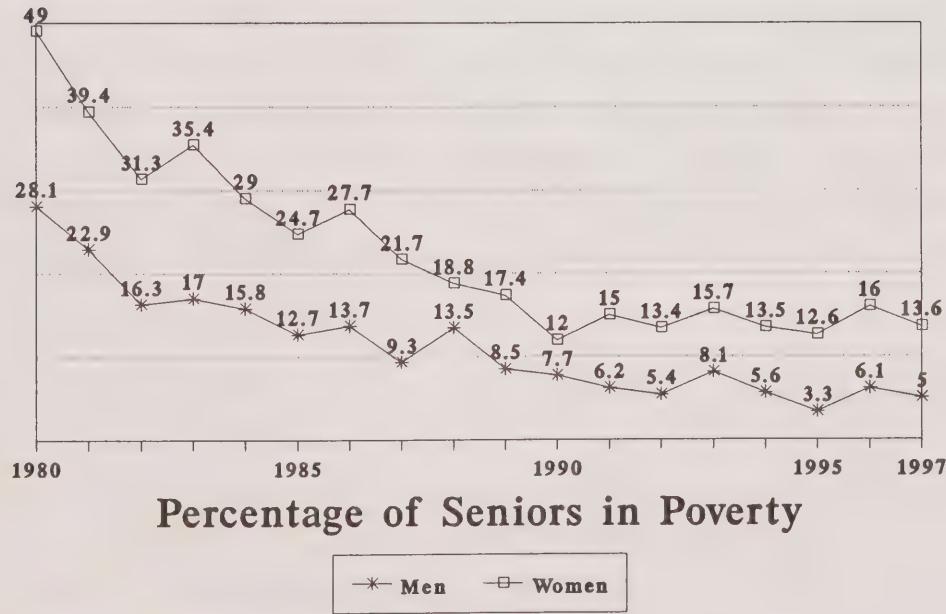
Graph AP-2

Manitoba



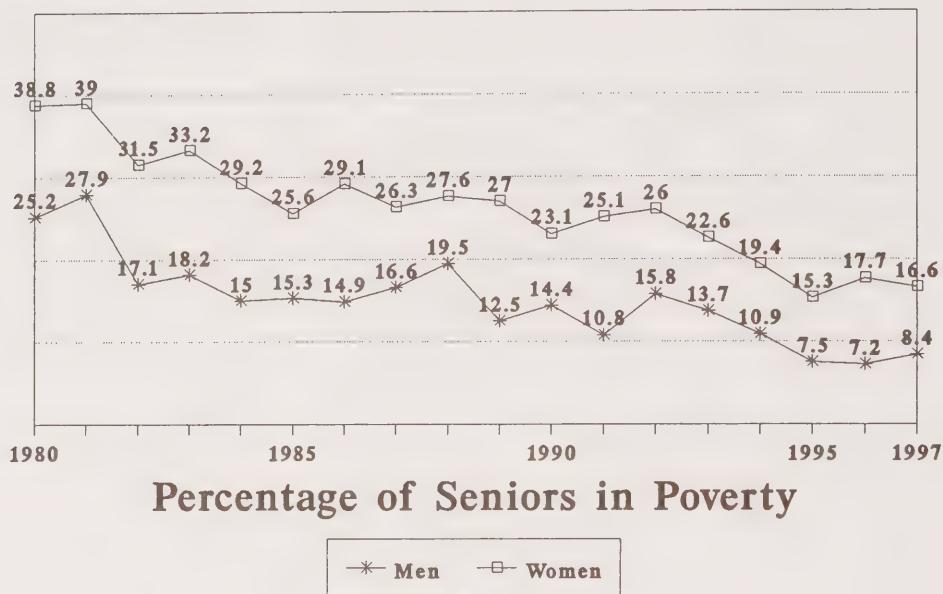
Graph AQ-1

Saskatchewan



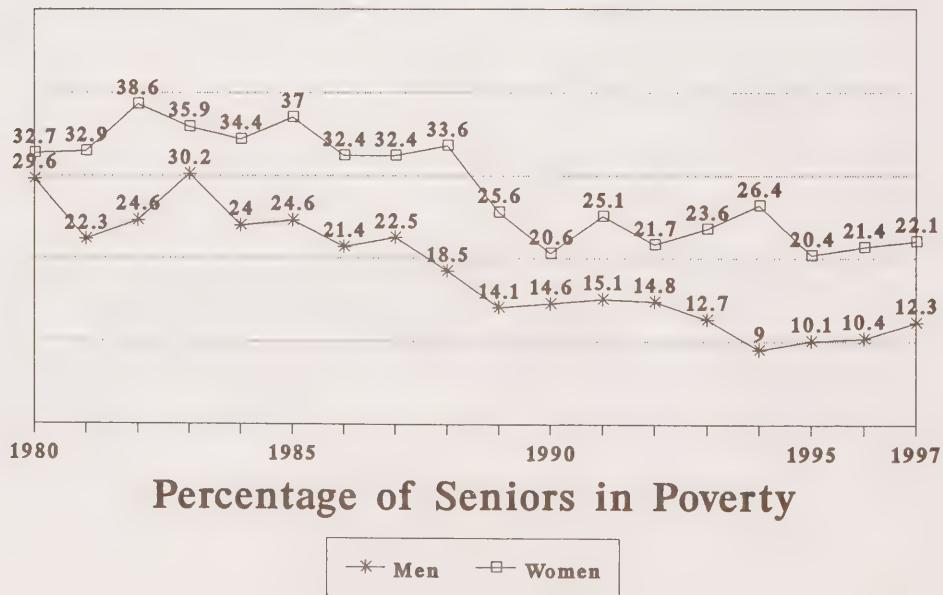
Graph AQ-2

Alberta



Graph AR-1

British Columbia



Graph AR-2

CONCLUSION

The fight against poverty in Canada has produced one big success story in recent years and any number of failures. The big success story concerns poverty among older Canadians. One of the biggest failures relates to poverty among families with children.

Why did the fight on behalf of seniors succeed and the fight on behalf of children fall by the wayside? The answer is mainly a matter of political will.

Current efforts to eradicate poverty among older people date back to the 1950s and 1960s and the actions of governments that led to the federal Old Age Security pension, the federal Guaranteed Income Supplement, the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans, and other government-supported measures that encouraged people to put away money for their retirement years. Together, these programs made a dramatic difference in the incomes of seniors and caused poverty rates to fall more or less steadily.

The latest efforts to eradicate poverty among families with children are pale reflections of the efforts made by governments on behalf of seniors. Members of the House of Commons voted unanimously on November 24, 1989, to "seek to achieve the goal of eliminating poverty among Canadian children by the year 2000." Since the vote, cuts to government programs have far outweighed improvements. The only significant federal government effort to date has been increased funding for the Canada Child Tax Benefit, but Ottawa has encouraged provincial and territorial governments to claw back the increase from poor families with children who are on welfare.

The National Council of Welfare has urged governments year after year to make poverty a priority. Poverty Profile 1997 shows that the fight has barely begun on behalf of Canadians under the age of 65. Although many of the main indicators of poverty were down slightly between 1996 and 1997, the poverty rates for people under 65 were substantially higher in 1997 than they were before the recession of 1990-1991. The 1990s could well go down in history as a decade of lost opportunities.

Poverty still casts a long shadow on single-parent mothers, people who are out of work, people who cannot get full-time work or adequate wages, people who depend on welfare, people who are poorly educated, people with disabilities or poor health, recent immigrants to Canada and the nearly 1.4 million children who depend on all these people for support. Perhaps most distressing of all is the rise in the ranks of the poorest of the poor in recent years, those people who struggle to get by on meagre incomes that add up to less than 50 percent of the poverty line.

As Canada enters a new century and a new millennium, governments must take every step necessary to fight poverty in all its forms. The National Council of Welfare is encouraged by reports that the federal budget of February 2000 may be a "children's budget" that could offer much-needed relief to families with children. In its recent report Children First, the Council made 29 recommendations that it believes should form the core of any concerted and systematic attack on poverty among families with children. Many of those recommendations would also benefit Canadians without children.

If remains to be seen, however, whether governments will follow through on the promises they have made. If they do, we would expect to see more success stories like the sharp decline in poverty among seniors. If they do not, we would expect to see poverty rates remain at levels that are unacceptably and unnecessarily high for years to come.

APPENDIX A

STATISTICS CANADA'S LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS (1986 BASE) FOR 1998

Family Size	Community Size				
	Cities of 500,000+	100,000-499,999	30,000-99,999	Less than 30,000	Rural Areas
1	16,472	14,468	14,134	12,885	11,213
2	22,327	19,613	19,158	17,463	15,202
3	28,380	24,930	24,352	22,198	19,321
4	32,678	28,698	28,038	25,560	22,245
5	35,702	31,357	30,633	27,925	24,306
6	38,754	34,034	33,250	30,310	26,383
7+	41,681	36,610	35,764	32,603	28,376

**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE ESTIMATES OF
STATISTICS CANADA'S LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS (1986 BASE) FOR 1999***

Family Size	Community Size				
	Cities of 500,000+	100,000-499,999	30,000-99,999	Less than 30,000	Rural Areas
1	16,636	14,613	14,275	13,013	11,325
2	22,550	19,809	19,350	17,637	15,354
3	28,664	25,179	24,596	22,420	19,514
4	33,005	28,985	28,319	25,816	22,467
5	36,059	31,670	30,939	28,204	24,549
6	39,141	34,375	33,583	30,613	26,647
7+	42,098	36,976	36,122	32,929	28,660

* Based on estimate of one percent inflation in 1999

APPENDIX B

REGIONAL POVERTY STATISTICS, 1997

	Atlantic		Quebec		Ontario		West	
	Number of Poor	Poverty Rate						
Single-Parent Mothers under 65 With Children under 18	28,000	64.4%	95,000	57.1%	117,000	57.0%	100,000	55.3%
Unattached Women under 65	33,000	49.5%	141,000	44.4%	143,000	33.0%	153,000	38.0%
Unattached Men under 65	36,000	36.0%	170,000	37.5%	187,000	30.7%	192,000	32.8%
Unattached Women 65 and Older	21,000	34.2%	136,000	59.7%	107,000	34.7%	96,000	37.0%
Unattached Men 65 and Older	5,000	23.9%	31,000	40.0%	23,000	22.6%	22,000	22.5%
Couples under 65 With Children under 18	32,000	12.4%	92,000	12.5%	152,000	12.4%	99,000	10.8%
Childless Couples under 65	20,000	12.6%	81,000	15.6%	56,000	8.5%	52,000	9.0%
Couples 65 and Older	4,000	5.6%	25,000	11.6%	19,000	5.3%	17,000	5.8%

APPENDIX B (CONTINUED)

DEPTH OF POVERTY IN DOLLARS BELOW POVERTY LINE AND PERCENTAGE OF POVERTY LINE, 1997

	Atlantic			Quebec			Ontario			West		
	Dollar Gap	% of Line	Dollar Gap	% of Line	Dollar Gap	% of Line	Dollar Gap	% of Line	Dollar Gap	% of Line	Dollar Gap	% of Line
Single-Parent Mothers under 65 With Children under 18	\$7,555	63%	\$10,124	58%	\$9,209	63%	\$9,247	61%				
Unattached Women under 65	\$6,025	55%	\$6,845	55%	\$7,357	51%	\$6,479	57%				
Unattached Men under 65	\$6,005	55%	\$6,650	56%	\$7,294	51%	\$6,761	55%				
Unattached Women 65 and Older	\$1,726	87%	\$2,780	82%	\$2,405	84%	\$2,138	86%				
Unattached Men 65 and Older					sample too small							
Couples under 65 With Children under 18	\$7,263	71%	\$9,345	67%	\$10,704	65%	\$9,756	67%				
Childless Couples under 65	\$6,056	65%	\$7,299	63%	\$7,251	63%	\$7,805	54%				
Couples 65 and Older					sample too small							

APPENDIX C

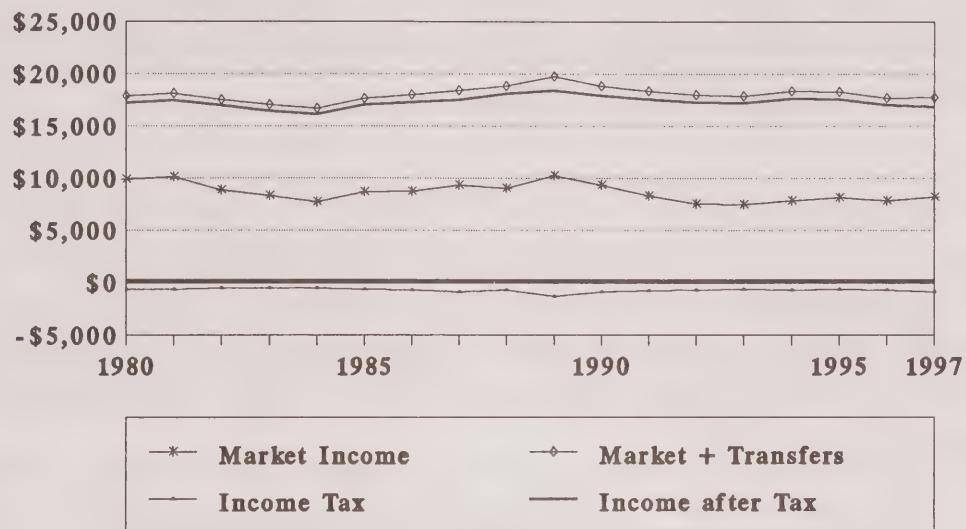
INCOMES OF POOR PEOPLE OVER TIME

The incomes of poor people tend to rise and fall with the growth and decline in the economy overall, but the changes have been very minimal in recent years. The two graphs on the next page show income trends for the poorest quintiles or poorest 20 percent of families and unattached individuals starting in 1980 and ending in 1997. All the figures are calculated in 1997 constant dollars to factor out the effects of inflation over the years.¹⁰

Each graph consists of four lines. The lines with stars measure market income: earnings, investment income and income from a variety of other non-governmental sources. The lines with diamonds measure market income plus income from government transfers. The lines with small dots just below the heavy solid lines at zero on the graphs represent federal, provincial and territorial income taxes. They are shown as negative amounts because they represent income losses rather than income gains. Finally, the heavy solid lines just beneath the top lines in the graphs are income after tax: that is, market income plus government transfers minus income taxes.

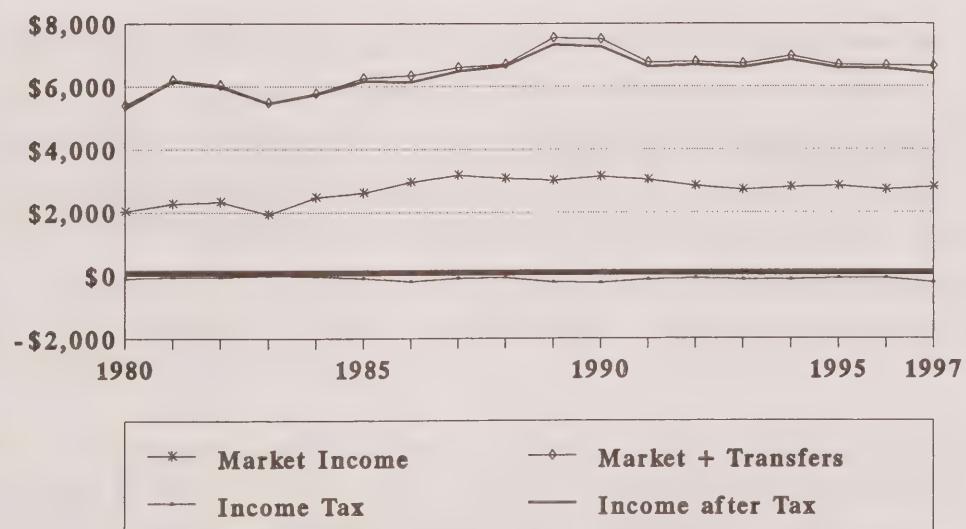
The data in the graphs come from the 1997 version of Income After Tax, Distributions by Size in Canada and are not directly comparable with the poverty statistics in the main body of this report. That is because they cover the poorest 20 percent of families and unattached individuals rather poor families and unattached people exclusively and entirely. In 1997, for example, 14.3 percent of families and 36.3 percent of unattached individuals were poor using the before-tax low income cut-offs of Statistics Canada. The data in the table on families cover the lowest 20 percent of families rather than the 14.3 percent who were poor. The data on unattached people in the table cover roughly the lower half of the 36.3 percent who were poor.

Incomes of the Poorest 20 Percent of Families



Graph AS-1

Incomes of the Poorest 20 Percent of Unattached



Graph AS-2

The graph on the top half of the page shows that the market income alone of families started out about \$10,000 in 1980, dipped as a result of the recession of 1981-1982, peaked again in 1989 at about \$10,000 and has been lower and largely unchanged during most of the 1990s. Government transfers were up \$1,000 or more throughout most of the years after 1981, and income taxes were very minimal throughout the period.

The net result was that the incomes of the poorest 20 percent of families after income taxes have moved in a very narrow range midway between \$15,000 and \$20,000. The peak year was 1989, and incomes have been lower and largely unchanged since then. In 1997, average income before government transfers for the poorest 20 percent of families was \$8,199, average transfer payments were \$9,582 and average income taxes were \$905. That left average income after income taxes of \$16,876.

The patterns are roughly similar for the poorest unattached individuals shown in the graph on the bottom half of the page. Market incomes dipped in 1983, peaked in 1990, and were lower in the years that followed. Government transfers were also fairly flat except for an unexplained increase in 1989 and 1990, and income taxes were so small that they can barely be seen in the graph.

The net result was a very slight upward trend in income after income taxes for the period as a whole. Average incomes for the poorest 20 percent of unattached individuals have been stuck at between \$6,000 and \$7,000 a year for most of the 1990s. In 1997, average income before government transfers for the poorest 20 percent of unattached individuals was \$2,806, average transfer payments were \$3,838 and average income taxes were \$230. That left average income after income taxes of \$6,414.

ENDNOTES

1. Statistics Canada, Income Distributions by Size in Canada, 1997 (Catalogue No. 13-207-XPB). The methodology used to set the 1992 base low income cut-offs is the same. However, the 1992 survey data estimated average expenditures on food, shelter and clothing at 34.7 percent of total income, so it was assumed that low-income people would spend 54.7 percent or more of their incomes on necessities.
2. Some of the information for Graph A comes from Chapter 2 of The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty - 1994 by David P. Ross, E. Richard Shillington and Clarence Lochhead, published by the Canadian Council on Social Development, and the 1996 edition of Poverty in Canada written by Christopher A. Sarlo and published by the Fraser Institute.
3. Detailed calculations of welfare incomes and related benefits in each province and territory will be available early in 2000 in the forthcoming National Council of Welfare publication Welfare Incomes 1998-1999. The income ranges in the text are for provincial welfare and other provincial benefits only. They do not include welfare and related benefits in Yukon or the Northwest Territories, and they do not include federal government benefits.
4. Payments in Alberta varied with the age of the child, and payments in Quebec varied with the age of the child and the number of children in a family.
5. The graphs for 1980 in this series and the next use revised weights.
6. For a description of the Canada Child Tax Benefit, an analysis of its impact, and a review of its many shortcomings, see the National Council of Welfare publication Child Benefits: Kids Are Still Hungry (Autumn 1998).
7. The information in this chapter comes from Marie Drolet and René Morissette, "To What Extent Are Canadians Exposed to Low Income?" (Statistics Canada Catalogue No. 75F0002MIE), March 1999.
8. Same. Percentages in the table were rounded up to the next whole number, and the percentages do not always add up to the figures in the first column because of rounding. Pre-tax data were not published for any of the categories in the table.

9. For a very strict definition of the term, see The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty - 1994, p. 75. For a very loose definition, see the study commissioned by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women entitled Women and Labour Market Poverty by Morley Gunderson and Leon Muszynski with Jennifer Keck, pp. 57-61.
10. Statistics Canada, Income After Tax, Distributions by Size in Canada, 1997 (Catalogue No. 13-210-XPB).

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE

Mr. John Murphy (Chairperson)

Canning, Nova Scotia

Mr. Armand Brun (Vice-Chairperson)

Shediac, New Brunswick

Ms. Doris Bernard

Radisson, Quebec

Ms. Olive Crane

Mt. Stewart, Prince Edward Island

Ms. Helen Margaret Finucane

Regina, Saskatchewan

Ms. Anne Gill

Hay River, Northwest Territories

Ms. Miriam Green

Montreal, Quebec

Ms. Alice Hanson

Edmonton, Alberta

Mr. Bruce Hardy

Surrey, British Columbia

Ms. Dana Howe

Windsor, Ontario

Mr. David S. Northcott

Winnipeg, Manitoba

Ms. Marilyn Peers

Halifax, Nova Scotia

Mr. Abdi Ulusso

Etobicoke, Ontario

Director: Steve Kerstetter

Senior Researcher and Policy Adviser: Joanne Roulston

Liaison Officer: Carole Lanthier

Publications Officer: Chantale Lortie

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE

The National Council of Welfare was established by the Government Organization Act, 1969, as a citizens' advisory body to the federal government. It advises the Minister of Human Resources Development on matters of concern to low-income Canadians.

The Council consists of members drawn from across Canada and appointed by the Governor-in-Council. All are private citizens and serve in their personal capacities rather than as representatives of organizations or agencies. The membership of the Council has included past and present welfare recipients, public housing tenants and other low-income people, as well as educators, social workers and people involved in voluntary or charitable organizations.

Reports by the National Council of Welfare deal with a wide range of issues on poverty and social policy in Canada, including: income security programs, welfare reform, medicare, poverty lines and poverty statistics, the retirement income system, taxation, labour market issues, social services and legal aid.

On peut se procurer des exemplaires en français de toutes les publications du Conseil national du bien-être social, en s'adressant au Conseil national du bien-être social, 2^e étage, 1010 rue Somerset ouest, Ottawa K1A 0J9.

CA1
HW700
- P56

Volume # 113

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE REPORTS

POVERTY PROFILE 1998

AUTUMN 2000

Canada

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE
REPORTS

POVERTY PROFILE 1998

Autumn 2000

Copies of this publication may be obtained from:

National Council of Welfare
2nd Floor, 1010 Somerset Street West
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0J9
(613)957-2961
Fax: (613)957-0680
E-mail: ncw@magi.com
Web Site: www.ncwcnbes.net

Également disponible en français sous le titre:
Profil de la pauvreté, 1998

© Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada 2000
Cat. No. H67-1/4-1998E
ISBN 0-662-29678-8

Canadian Publications Mail # 1464418

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
I. METHODOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS	3
II. RECENT POVERTY TRENDS	9
POVERTY TRENDS FOR INDIVIDUAL CANADIANS.....	9
POVERTY TRENDS FOR FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS.....	15
III. VIEW FROM THE PROVINCES.....	25
IV. SNAPSHOTS OF POVERTY IN 1998.....	37
FAMILY TYPE	37
DIFFERENCES BY AGE, GENDER AND FAMILY TYPE.....	39
WORK ACTIVITY	44
NUMBER AND AGE OF CHILDREN.....	47
EDUCATION.....	49
YEAR OF IMMIGRATION.....	53
AREA OF RESIDENCE.....	54
V. DEPTH OF POVERTY AND THE POVERTY GAP	56
VI. POOR CANADIANS AND THEIR SOURCES OF INCOME	67
SENIOR COUPLES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS.....	69
FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65.....	71
VII. A CLOSER LOOK AT GROUPS OF SPECIAL INTEREST	82
THE LOW-WAGE POOR	82
CHILDREN	86
WOMEN.....	94
SENIORS	96
CONCLUSION	102
APPENDICES	104
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE ESTIMATES OF STATISTICS CANADA'S LOW-INCOME CUT-OFFS (1986 BASE) FOR 1999*	104
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE ESTIMATES OF STATISTICS CANADA'S LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS (1986 BASE) FOR 2000*	104
REGIONAL POVERTY STATISTICS, 1998.....	105
DEPTH OF POVERTY IN DOLLARS BELOW POVERTY LINE AND PERCENTAGE OF POVERTY LINE, 1998.....	106
MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE	108
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE.....	109

INTRODUCTION

The National Council of Welfare was pleased to see many of the poverty rates in Canada decrease slightly in 1998. For the first time since 1994, fewer than 5 million children, women and men in Canada were living in poverty. The poverty rate of 16.4 percent was the lowest since 1992. But, should we be celebrating? Hardly, if at all. The small drop in poverty was a dismal showing for a wealthy country in its seventh consecutive year of economic growth.

A total of 4.9 million people or 16.4 percent of the people in Canada were poor in 1998. This was 1.4 million or 41 percent more than in 1989, the last full year before the last recession.

In spite of talk by governments about putting children first, approximately one in five children in Canada, or 1.3 million, were poor in 1998. This was an increase of roughly 400,000, or 42 percent, since 1989, the year of the House of Commons resolution to end child poverty by 2000. The jump was especially noticeable in Ontario where the number of poor children was close to double what it was in 1989.

It has become obvious that people on the low end of the income scale are cut off from the ongoing economic growth that most Canadians are enjoying. It is also obvious that in these times of economic prosperity and government surpluses that most governments are not yet prepared to address these problems seriously, nor are they prepared to ensure a reasonable level of support for low-income people either inside or outside of the paid labour force.

Some of the statistics are particularly disturbing:

- Most poor people live thousands of dollars below the poverty line. In fact, the number of people living at less than 50 percent of the poverty line has grown dramatically in recent years, from 143,000 families and 287,000 unattached individuals in 1989 to 233,000 families and 463,000 unattached individuals in 1998. Living at less than 50 percent of the poverty line means that a family of four in Toronto survives, somehow, on total income of \$16,353 or less per year, or \$1,363 or less a month.
- Even with slight improvements in 1998, poverty rates for single-parent mothers and their children remain shockingly high, a sad testimony to the 1989 House of Commons resolution to eliminate child poverty by the turn of the century. The overall poverty rate for single-parent mothers was 54.2 percent in 1998, and the rate for families led by single-parent mothers less than 25 years old was an abysmal 85.4 percent. Eighty-three thousand single-parent mothers were living at less than 50 percent of the poverty line in 1998. This was the highest number recorded between 1989 and 1998 other than the peak of 99,000 in 1996.
- People under age 25 have seen their poverty rates shoot up in the 1990s from rates that were already too high. The poverty rate for families with heads under age 25 went from

28 percent in 1989 to 43.3 percent in 1998, and the rate for unattached individuals under 25 went from 47.8 percent in 1989 to 60.7 percent in 1998.

- As in previous years, the only real bright spot was the poverty statistics for seniors. The poverty rate for people 65 and older was 17.5 percent in 1998, the lowest rate since 1995. However, the poverty rate for unattached women 65 and older was 39.4 percent, one of the higher rates for any family type.

Poverty Profile 1998 is the latest annual report by the National Council of Welfare based on factual material compiled by Statistics Canada. It includes numerous statistics for 1998 and poverty trends dating back to 1980. As in the past, the report is an analysis of the facts rather than a blueprint for eliminating poverty, and it contains no specific recommendations as such. The National Council of Welfare has published many other reports over the years that are full of proposals for combating poverty.

Most of the data presented in Poverty Profile cover poverty for one year only. They do not tell us how many of the people who were poor in 1998 were also poor in previous years or how long they were likely to remain poor. Statistics Canada's Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics will provide us with ongoing data about the dynamics of poverty. The National Council of Welfare plans to incorporate information about the changes in people's incomes over time in future issues of Poverty Profile.

The National Council of Welfare hopes that this report will shed some light on poverty in Canada, a subject that is much discussed but little understood. Myths and stereotypes about poverty and poor people are deeply rooted in our society. We hope this report will help dispel these misconceptions and spur governments into using all the tools at their disposal to make it possible for all Canadians to share in the great bounty our country has to offer. Most importantly, we hope it will point governments toward their priorities for the new century: ensuring a fairer chance for everyone to benefit from the enormous government surpluses.

I. METHODOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

Since 1965, Statistics Canada has used a household survey known as the Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF) to obtain information on the distribution of income and the nature and extent of poverty in private households in Canada. In 1993, Statistics Canada introduced a new survey, the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID), with much the same objectives but using a different approach. While SCF took a snapshot of the lives of people at a particular point in time, SLID follows people for six years to see how their circumstances change over time. Starting with the 1996 reference year, SLID replaces SCF as the source of annual income estimates.

Until this year, Poverty Profile used SCF as the source of poverty statistics. As SCF has been discontinued, this year's report is based on data from the two surveys. Data for 1997 and 1998 are taken from SLID while data for earlier years is from SCF. The 1998 SLID was conducted in January and May of 1999 and sampled roughly 30,000 private households from all parts of the country except for Yukon, the Northwest Territories, Indian reserves, and institutions such as prisons, mental hospitals, and homes for the elderly. The survey looked at incomes for the 1998 calendar year. Close to three-quarters of SLID respondents gave their consent to the use of their TI tax information to provide income data.

NOTE TO READERS

Poverty statistics for 1997 in this report will differ slightly from those in Poverty Profile 1997. This is due to the introduction of 1997 SLID data in this year's report. The National Council of Welfare chose to replace 1997 SCF data with 1997 SLID data so that changes observed between 1997 and 1998 would not be affected by the change in the data source for 1998. Statistics Canada has closely monitored the comparability of SCF and SLID and concluded that the surveys tell the same stories about income in Canada and produce comparable results.¹ The results from the two 1997 surveys are both "correct" and should be considered equally valid sources of information about poverty in Canada.

The 1998 results were published by Statistics Canada under the title Income in Canada, 1998. Statistics Canada also provided custom tabulations to the National Council of Welfare². We are grateful for the assistance provided by officials of the agency, especially Philip Giles, Cathy Cotton and Kevin Bishop of the Income Statistics Division. The analysis and interpretation of the data, however, is the responsibility of the National Council of Welfare, not Statistics Canada.

Information about poverty is obtained by comparing the survey data with the low income cut-offs or LICOs of Statistics Canada. The LICOs represent levels of gross income where people spend disproportionate amounts of money for food, shelter and clothing. Statistics Canada has

¹ For further information, consult Statistics Canada publications such as A Comparison of the Results of the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) and the Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF) 1993-1997: Update (Catalogue No. 75F0002M - 99007).

² The unpublished data provided by Statistics Canada excluded one record that had such an extremely high value for one source of income that it substantially affected a number of income measurements traditionally used in Poverty Profile. Some figures shown in this edition of Poverty Profile may, therefore, differ slightly than those published by Statistics Canada.

decided over the years - somewhat arbitrarily - that 20 percentage points is a reasonable measure of the additional burden. The average Canadian family spent 36.2 percent of gross income on food, shelter and clothing according to 1986 data on spending patterns, so it was assumed that low-income Canadians spent 56.2 percent or more on the necessities of life.

The low income cut-offs vary by the size of the family unit and the population of the area of residence. There are seven categories of family size, from one person to seven or more persons, and five community sizes ranging from rural areas to cities with 500,000 or more residents. The result is a set of 35 cut-offs. The cut-offs are updated annually by Statistics Canada using the Consumer Price Index.

The cut-offs used in this report for the year 1998 are technically known as 1986 base LICOs, because of the year in which spending on food, shelter and clothing was surveyed. The entire set of 35 cut-offs for 1998 appears below as Table 1.1. The National Council of Welfare's estimates of the cut-offs for 1999 and 2000 appear in Appendix A.

Over the years, Statistics Canada has published several other sets of low income cut-offs, and it started using 1992 base cut-offs as its preferred measure in Income Distributions by Size in Canada, 1992. Readers are cautioned that the poverty statistics in this report using the 1986 base cut-offs differ slightly from reports using the 1992 base cut-offs. The National Council of Welfare plans to switch to the 1992 base cut-offs in the next edition of Poverty Profile.³ Either base year is a suitable method of examining poverty in Canada. As the 1992 base data are now more commonly used and published, the Council will use the 1992 base data in our next report.

³ The methodology used to set the 1992 base low income cut-offs is the same as the methodology used to set the 1986 base low income cut-offs. However, the 1992 survey data estimated average expenditures on food, shelter and clothing at 34.7 percent of total income, so it was assumed that low-income people would spend 54.7 percent or more of their incomes on necessities.

TABLE 1.1: STATISTICS CANADA'S LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS (1986 BASE) FOR 1998

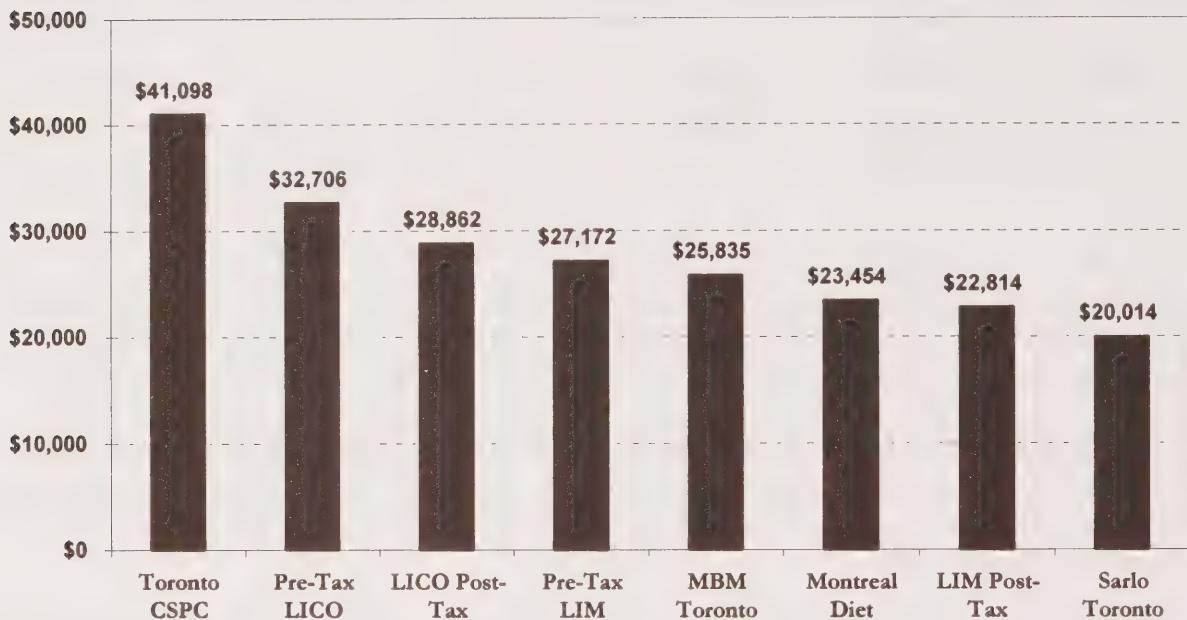
Family Size	Community Size				
	Cities of 500,000+	100,000-499,999	30,000-99,999	Less than 30,000	Rural Areas
1	\$16,486	\$14,481	\$14,146	\$12,896	\$11,223
2	\$22,346	\$19,629	\$19,175	\$17,478	\$15,215
3	\$28,405	\$24,951	\$24,373	\$22,217	\$19,337
4	\$32,706	\$28,723	\$28,062	\$25,582	\$22,264
5	\$35,732	\$31,384	\$30,659	\$27,949	\$24,327
6	\$38,787	\$34,064	\$33,279	\$30,336	\$26,406
7+	\$41,717	\$36,642	\$35,795	\$32,631	\$28,401

The National Council of Welfare and many other social policy groups regard the LICOs as poverty lines and use the terms poor and low-income interchangeably. Statistics Canada takes pains to avoid references to poverty. It says the cut-offs have no official status, and it does not promote their use as poverty lines.

Regardless of the terminology, the cut-offs are a useful tool for defining and analyzing the significantly large portion of the Canadian population with low incomes. They are not the only measures of poverty used in Canada, but they are the most widely accepted and are roughly comparable to most alternative measures.

Figure 1.1 shows eight alternative measures of poverty, two versions of the low-income cut-offs of Statistics Canada (1986 base) and six other lines sometimes seen in other published reports on poverty.⁴

Figure 1.1: Poverty Lines for a Family of Four Living in a Large City, 1998



Toronto CSPC, the description of the first bar in Figure 1.1, refers to the budget guides of the Community Social Planning Council of Toronto, formerly the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. The original calculation was updated to 1998 by the National Council of Welfare using the Consumer Price Index.

The next two bars represent two different versions of the low income cut-offs of Statistics Canada. The pre-tax LICO is based on total income including government transfers, but before the deduction of federal, provincial or territorial income taxes. The post-tax LICO is based on after-tax income, that is, total income including government transfers less federal, provincial or territorial income taxes.

⁴ Some of the information for Graph A comes from Chapter 2 of The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty - 1994 by David P. Ross, E. Richard Shillington and Clarence Lochhead, published by the Canadian Council on Social Development, and the 1996 edition of Poverty in Canada written by Christopher A. Sarlo and published by the Fraser Institute.

Pre-tax LIM and LIM post-tax refer to the low income measures of Statistics Canada, measures which are both based on one-half of median family income. LIMs vary with family size and composition, but they are the same in all parts of the country. They do not reflect the reality of higher costs of living in large cities and lower costs of living in rural areas. The two sets of LIMs are the only lines in Figure 1.1 that do not vary from place to place in Canada.

One-half of median family income adjusted for family size is the approach most often used in international comparisons of poverty. LIMs and similar measures provide interesting comparisons at a given point in time, but they tend to be “flat” over time and do not track well against the ups and downs of the economic cycle.

MBM Toronto stands for the market basket measures being developed by Human Resources Development Canada for the federal, provincial and territorial governments. The MBMs are very loosely based on the cost of buying a basket of goods and services in the local marketplace. The bar in Figure 1.1 is for a family living in Toronto. The National Council of Welfare updated the figure to 1998, but the update does not reflect changes in methodology that were made after 1996.

Montreal Diet refers to the income needed for a minimum adequate standard of living for a two-earner couple with a 15-year-old son and a ten-year-old daughter in Montreal as calculated by the Montreal Diet Dispensary and updated by the National Council of Welfare. The group also has basic needs guidelines strictly intended for short-term assistance that are somewhat lower.

Sarlo Toronto is the poverty line for Toronto calculated by Christopher A. Sarlo and updated to 1998 by the National Council of Welfare. Professor Sarlo also has “social comfort lines” that are twice as high as his poverty lines.

Poverty statistics are often broken down according to families and unattached individuals. The survey that gathered the data defined a family as a group of individuals sharing a common dwelling unit and related by blood, marriage or adoption. The definition includes couples living in common-law relationships. Most of the data in this report is expressed in terms of families rather than the number of people in family units. Unattached individuals are defined as people living alone or in households where they are not related to other household members.

A poor or low-income family has an income below the poverty line, while a “non-poor” family has an income above the poverty line. The same applies for unattached individuals.

Poverty rates compare the number of poor persons, families or unattached individuals in a particular category to all the persons, families or unattached individuals in the same category. For example, there were an estimated 314,000 poor families with children under 18 headed by a female single parent under age 65 in 1998. The estimated total number of families with children under 18 headed by a female single parent under 65 was 580,000. The poverty rate was 314,000 divided by 580,000 or 54.2 percent.

Sometimes, the terms incidence of poverty or risk of poverty are used instead of the poverty rate. The meaning of all three terms is the same.

Income refers to money income reported by all family members 16 years or older. Income includes gross wages and salaries, net income from self-employment, investment income, government transfer payments (Employment Insurance, Old Age Security, Canada and Quebec Pension Plans, Guaranteed Income Supplements, Spouse's Allowance, Child Tax Benefit, other child credits or allowances, welfare from provincial and municipal programs, workers' compensation benefits, GST/HST credits, provincial and territorial tax credits and any other government transfers), pensions, and miscellaneous income (scholarships and child support payments, for example).

Some sections of this report refer to earnings rather than income. Earnings means gross wages and salaries and net income from self-employment.

Statistics Canada revised its low income data for the period 1980 through 1993 in the 1994 version of Income Distributions by Size in Canada. The revisions included shifting population estimates to the 1991 census base, adjusting the estimates to correct under coverage, and including non-permanent residents physically present in Canada.

The National Council of Welfare decided as a general rule to continue using the data for earlier years as originally published. The revisions have very little effect on rates of poverty, but they tend to add slightly to the number of people living in poverty. Poverty data that is based on the revised Statistics Canada weights are used in a few instances in this report, and these exceptions are noted in the footnotes.

II. RECENT POVERTY TRENDS

In 1998, most poverty rates dipped slightly but remained substantially higher than they were in the years immediately before the 1990-1991 recession. Over 4.9 million people in Canada, including 1.3 million children, lived in poverty in 1998. Of particular concern, poverty rates for people under 65 remained very high by historic standards despite seven consecutive years of economic growth.

Meanwhile, poverty rates among seniors continued their downward decline with the exception of rates for unattached men. The rate for unattached women 65 and older continued to decrease to yet another record low in 1998.

This chapter shows the major national trends in poverty from 1980 through 1998 using two types of measures. The first looks at Canadians as individuals regardless of their family circumstances, and the other looks at people by family type or as unattached individuals living outside families.

POVERTY TRENDS FOR INDIVIDUAL CANADIANS

One way to examine poverty is to look at the number of individuals who are living in poverty. Table 2.1 shows the number of poor people, the total population and the poverty rate for each year from 1980 to 1998.

In 1980, the poverty rate was 15.3 percent with just over 3.6 million people living in poverty. The number of poor people and the poverty rate rose following the recession of 1981-1982 and then declined slowly to a low in 1989 of 3,487,000 poor people and a poverty rate of 13.6 percent. The poverty rate and the number of poor people increased again with the recession of 1990-1991. However, unlike the 1980s, the number of poor people and the poverty rate did not decline following the 1990-1991 recession. Instead, the number of people living in poverty steadily increased to record highs while poverty rates stayed fairly constant at slightly more than 17 percent.

It is only in 1998 that we have seen a decline in the number of poor people. For the first time since 1994, less than 5 million people are living in poverty. There was also a slight decrease in the poverty rate to 16.4%, the lowest rate since 1992. Even with the decline, however, both those figures were substantially higher than the comparable figures for the years immediately preceding the last recession.

TABLE 2.1: POVERTY TRENDS, ALL PERSONS

	Poor Persons	All Persons	Poverty Rate
1980	3,624,000	23,626,000	15.3%
1981	3,643,000	23,814,000	15.3%
1982	3,951,000	24,021,000	16.4%
1983	4,406,000	24,229,000	18.2%
1984	4,397,000	24,348,000	18.1%
1985	4,170,000	24,535,000	17.0%
1986	3,976,000	24,807,000	16.0%
1987	3,912,000	25,075,000	15.6%
1988	3,744,000	25,348,000	14.8%
1989	3,487,000	25,729,000	13.6%
1990	3,821,000	26,099,000	14.6%
1991	4,227,000	26,495,000	16.0%
1992	4,320,000	26,901,000	16.1%
1993	4,775,000	27,398,000	17.4%
1994	4,795,000	28,867,000	16.6%
1995	5,070,000	29,193,000	17.4%
1996	5,190,000	29,542,000	17.6%
1997	5,300,000	29,730,000	17.8%
1998	4,910,000	29,994,000	16.4%

Similar trends were evident in the child poverty statistics shown in Table 2.2. In the 1980s, the number of children living in poverty and the child poverty rate rose with the recession of 1981-1982, peaking in 1984 and then declining for the rest of the 1980s. When the House of Commons unanimously passed a resolution in 1989 to work to eliminate child poverty by 2000, the number of poor children was 934,000 and the child poverty rate was 14.5 percent.

TABLE 2.2: POVERTY TRENDS, CHILDREN UNDER 18

	Poor Children	All Children	Poverty Rate
1980	984,000	6,619,000	14.9%
1981	998,000	6,552,000	15.2%
1982	1,155,000	6,476,000	17.8%
1983	1,221,000	6,437,000	19.0%
1984	1,253,000	6,377,000	19.6%
1985	1,165,000	6,361,000	18.3%
1986	1,086,000	6,390,000	17.0%
1987	1,057,000	6,380,000	16.6%
1988	987,000	6,395,000	15.4%
1989	934,000	6,438,000	14.5%
1990	1,105,000	6,522,000	16.9%
1991	1,210,000	6,606,000	18.3%
1992	1,218,000	6,704,000	18.2%
1993	1,415,000	6,799,000	20.8%
1994	1,334,000	6,997,000	19.1%
1995	1,441,000	7,011,000	20.5%
1996	1,481,000	7,093,000	20.9%
1997	1,439,000	7,081,000	20.3%
1998	1,327,000	7,052,000	18.8%

The recession of 1990-1991 drove child poverty up once again. It peaked in 1996, when nearly 1.5 million children were living in poverty and the child poverty rate was 20.9 percent. The modest decline that began in 1997 continued in 1998 when 1.3 million children lived in poverty and the poverty rate was 18.8 percent. However, these figures are still substantially higher than the low of 1989.

Additional information on child poverty by family type and provincial child poverty statistics appear later in this report.

Children are poor because their parents are poor, and one of the main reasons for poverty among parents is a lack of good jobs. It should come as no surprise that the poverty rates for adults under age 65 tend to move up and down in line with changes in the unemployment rate. However, the link has become much weaker in this decade.

Figure 2.1 shows the average annual unemployment rate for people 15 and older and the poverty rate for people ages 18 to 64, the group most likely to be in the labour force. In 1998, the unemployment rate was 8.3 percent and the poverty rate was 15.3 percent.

Figure 2.1: Unemployment and Poverty Among Working-Age People



Until 1993, the unemployment rate and the poverty rate moved together. As the unemployment rate increased, the poverty rate increased and as the unemployment rate fell, the poverty rate fell.

In the recovery from the recession of 1990-1991, the pattern changed. The unemployment rate steadily decreased, but the poverty rate did not. In fact, the poverty rate for adults under age 65 increased slightly. It was only in 1998, after six years of a downward trend in the unemployment rate, that a small dip in the poverty rate for working age people was observed. The current cycle of economic growth appears to be bypassing many people at the lower end of the income scale.

One group that is largely immune from high unemployment rates is seniors, because most seniors are not in the labour force. The poverty rates for people 65 and older are more a reflection of public and private pension programs than the economy.

While the total number of seniors increased by 65 percent between 1980 and 1998, the number of seniors who live in poverty fell 14 percent. In 1980, 731,000 seniors lived in poverty compared to 629,000 in 1998 as shown in Table 2.3. The poverty rate for seniors dropped sharply from 33.6% in 1980 to 17.5% in 1998.

The improvement in the lives of seniors was the direct result of government programs and policies dating back to the 1960s. Among the more important steps in decreasing poverty for seniors was the creation of the federal government's Guaranteed Income Supplement in 1967 for low-income seniors and the creation of the Canada Pension Plan and Quebec Pension Plan in 1966. The Canada Pension Plan was the result of co-operation between the federal and provincial governments to make sure workers put away a modest amount of money every year for their retirement. The CPP still operates as a partnership between the two levels of government.

TABLE 2.3: POVERTY TRENDS, PEOPLE 65 AND OLDER

	Poor Seniors	All Seniors	Poverty Rate
1980	731,000	2,177,000	33.6%
1981	733,000	2,223,000	33.0%
1982	648,000	2,272,000	28.5%
1983	719,000	2,324,000	30.9%
1984	669,000	2,397,000	27.9%
1985	669,000	2,473,000	27.0%
1986	637,000	2,557,000	24.9%
1987	627,000	2,635,000	23.8%
1988	634,000	2,710,000	23.4%
1989	599,000	2,793,000	21.4%
1990	554,000	2,873,000	19.3%
1991	590,000	2,950,000	20.0%
1992	564,000	3,027,000	18.6%
1993	636,000	3,100,000	20.5%
1994	567,000	3,297,000	17.2%
1995	572,000	3,379,000	16.9%
1996	655,000	3,465,000	18.9%
1997	644,000	3,529,000	18.3%
1998	629,000	3,599,000	17.5%

POVERTY TRENDS FOR FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS

While the poverty statistics for all persons give a good overview of poverty, it is often more revealing to look at poor people in terms of families and unattached individuals, as shown in Table 2.4. Poverty rates for unattached people are normally 2½ to three times higher than the rates for families. In 1998, the poverty rate for unattached individuals was 36.1 percent and the rate for families was 13.2 percent for a ratio of 2.73 to one.

The main reason that families have consistently lower poverty rates than unattached individuals is that they often have a second family member in the paid labour force. The percentage of younger married couples with both spouses in the work force has grown dramatically during the last generation, and two-earner couples now far outnumber one-earner couples. Many older couples are made up spouses who both had careers outside the home and who both get pension benefits aside from the federal government's Old Age Security pension.

An even better view of poverty comes by breaking down families and unattached individuals into their major subcategories. The four main types of families are married couples where the head of the family is 65 or older, married couples under 65 with children under 18, married couples under 65 without children under 18, and single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. Altogether, these four subcategories accounted for 78 percent of all poor families in 1998. The other 22 percent was made up of less common family types, such as married couples living with children who were all 18 or older, single-parent fathers and their children, and brothers and sisters who lived together.

The four types of unattached individuals are unattached men under 65, unattached men 65 and older, unattached women under 65, and unattached women 65 and older. Together, they account for 100 percent of unattached individuals.

TABLE 2.4: POVERTY TRENDS, FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS

	Families		Unattached Individuals	
	Number of Poor Families	Poverty Rate	Number of Poor Unattached	Poverty Rate
1980	830,000	13.2%	1,013,000	41.4%
1981	832,000	13.0%	1,010,000	40.3%
1982	905,000	14.0%	1,034,000	40.2%
1983	1,007,000	15.3%	1,183,000	44.9%
1984	1,032,000	15.6%	1,118,000	41.3%
1985	963,000	14.3%	1,136,000	40.8%
1986	924,000	13.6%	1,112,000	38.3%
1987	895,000	13.1%	1,137,000	37.5%
1988	851,000	12.2%	1,172,000	37.7%
1989	786,000	11.1%	1,100,000	34.4%
1990	874,000	12.1%	1,123,000	34.1%
1991	949,000	13.1%	1,258,000	36.5%
1992	991,000	13.3%	1,247,000	36.2%
1993	1,116,000	14.8%	1,306,000	37.1%
1994	1,108,000	13.7%	1,421,000	37.0%
1995	1,187,000	14.4%	1,399,000	36.1%
1996	1,230,000	14.8%	1,457,000	37.0%
1997	1,212,000	14.7%	1,546,000	37.6%
1998	1,099,000	13.2%	1,535,000	36.1%

The importance of a second wage-earner or second source of pension income becomes obvious from the poverty statistics for the four types of families shown in Table 2.5, Table 2.6, Table 2.7 and Table 2.8. The poverty rates for families headed by single-parent mothers have been five to six times higher on average than the poverty rates for married couples with or without children.

The number and poverty rate of poor couples with children rose and fell with the overall state of the economy from 1980 through the early 1990s until they both got stuck at relatively high levels through the mid-1990s. In 1998, the number and poverty rate of poor couples with children dropped to the lowest levels since 1992. There were 319,000 poor couples under 65 with children under 18 in 1998, and the poverty rate was 10.4 percent. However, these figures are still above the pre-recession low in 1989 when there were 254,000 poor couples under 65 with children and the poverty rate was 8.5 percent.

The total number of couples with children, both poor and non-poor couples, barely changed at all between 1980 and 1998. Over the same time, the total number of single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 nearly doubled from 318,000 in 1980 to 580,000 in 1998.

The rise in single parenthood was matched by a rise in the number of poor single-parent mothers. During the recession in the early 1980s, the number of poor single-parent mothers increased slowly along with the total number of single-parent mothers. In the recovery from this recession, the number of poor single-parent mothers declined somewhat but never again reached the 1980 low of 318,000. Following the 1990-1991 recession, the numbers jumped extraordinarily increasing from 207,000 in 1989 to 303,000 in 1992. Since 1993, the number of poor families headed by single-parent mothers has been stuck between 315,000 and 323,000 with the exception of a spike in 1996 of 379,000.

TABLE 2.5: POOR COUPLES UNDER 65 WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18

	Poor Couples under 65 with Children	All Couples under 65 with Children	Poverty Rate
1980	286,000	3,040,000	9.4%
1981	294,000	3,031,000	9.7%
1982	337,000	2,993,000	11.3%
1983	369,000	2,996,000	12.3%
1984	370,000	2,933,000	12.6%
1985	334,000	2,950,000	11.3%
1986	319,000	2,968,000	10.8%
1987	298,000	2,938,000	10.1%
1988	264,000	2,967,000	8.9%
1989	254,000	2,979,000	8.5%
1990	285,000	2,973,000	9.6%
1991	318,000	2,973,000	10.7%
1992	301,000	2,988,000	10.1%
1993	375,000	3,025,000	12.4%
1994	349,000	3,091,000	11.3%
1995	394,000	3,134,000	12.6%
1996	370,000	3,118,000	11.9%
1997	387,000	3,125,000	12.4%
1998	319,000	3,062,000	10.4%

TABLE 2.6: SINGLE-PARENT MOTHERS UNDER 65 WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18

	Poor Single-Parent Mothers under 65	All Single-Parent Mothers under 65	Poverty Rate
1980	183,000	318,000	57.7%
1981	168,000	306,000	54.8%
1982	208,000	342,000	60.9%
1983	218,000	353,000	61.7%
1984	233,000	372,000	62.8%
1985	227,000	362,000	62.5%
1986	208,000	354,000	58.8%
1987	216,000	366,000	59.0%
1988	221,000	390,000	56.7%
1989	207,000	393,000	52.9%
1990	255,000	421,000	60.6%
1991	272,000	440,000	61.9%
1992	303,000	520,000	58.4%
1993	323,000	540,000	59.8%
1994	317,000	554,000	57.3%
1995	323,000	565,000	57.2%
1996	379,000	618,000	61.4%
1997	317,000	553,000	57.2%
1998	314,000	580,000	54.2%

Poverty rates for families headed by single-parent mothers have remained unconscionably high over the past two decades. Between 1980 and 1998, the poverty rate has fluctuated between 53 and 63 percent. Even though the poverty rate in 1998 is at a near record low, more than half (54.2 percent) of these families lived in poverty. Given the increases in the number of single-parent families over the years, the persistently high poverty rate for single-parent mothers has meant an enormous jump in these poor families from 183,000 in 1980 to 314,000 in 1998.

The patterns of poverty among couples without children in recent years were strikingly different for couples under age 65 and couples 65 and older. Table 2.7 and Table 2.8 give the figures for the years 1980 through 1998.

The total number of couples under 65 with no children under 18 rose steadily over the years. The number of these couples who were poor was also substantially higher in the 1990s than it was in the 1980s. Between 1997 and 1998, there was a slight drop in the number of poor couples and the poverty rate. There were 160,000 poor couples under 65 without children in 1998, and the poverty rate was 8.6 percent. This is the lowest poverty rate for this type of family since 1990, but due to the increase in the total number of these families, there were still 33,000 more poor couples in 1998 than in 1990.

The total number of couples 65 and older without children also rose strikingly between 1980 and 1998, but the number of poor couples and the poverty rate dropped sharply. There were 68,000 poor senior couples in 1998 compared to 115,000 in 1980. The poverty rate in 1998 was 7.6 percent, considerably lower than the rate of 22.2 percent in 1980.

TABLE 2.7: COUPLES UNDER 65 WITHOUT CHILDREN

	Poor Couples under 65 without Children	All Couples under 65 without Children	Poverty Rate
1980	87,000	1,255,000	6.9%
1981	97,000	1,256,000	7.7%
1982	119,000	1,297,000	9.2%
1983	130,000	1,276,000	10.2%
1984	133,000	1,310,000	10.2%
1985	120,000	1,354,000	8.9%
1986	129,000	1,359,000	9.5%
1987	129,000	1,431,000	9.0%
1988	119,000	1,468,000	8.1%
1989	115,000	1,552,000	7.6%
1990	127,000	1,524,000	8.3%
1991	141,000	1,523,000	9.3%
1992	138,000	1,561,000	8.8%
1993	152,000	1,542,000	9.9%
1994	182,000	1,883,000	9.7%
1995	197,000	1,891,000	10.4%
1996	199,000	1,935,000	10.3%
1997	172,000	1,852,000	9.3%
1998	160,000	1,863,000	8.6%

TABLE 2.8: COUPLES 65 AND OLDER

	Poor Couples 65 and Older	All Couples 65 and Older	Poverty Rate
1980	115,000	518,000	22.2%
1981	118,000	532,000	22.1%
1982	81,000	565,000	14.4%
1983	94,000	574,000	16.4%
1984	96,000	586,000	16.3%
1985	102,000	605,000	16.9%
1986	104,000	653,000	15.9%
1987	98,000	657,000	14.9%
1988	91,000	688,000	13.2%
1989	77,000	700,000	11.1%
1990	61,000	723,000	8.5%
1991	66,000	731,000	9.0%
1992	66,000	769,000	8.5%
1993	74,000	763,000	9.7%
1994	60,000	878,000	6.8%
1995	70,000	925,000	7.5%
1996	78,000	908,000	8.6%
1997	78,000	869,000	9.0%
1998	68,000	888,000	7.6%

Among unattached people, the poverty statistics vary greatly between women and men and also between seniors and people under 65. Unattached men have lower poverty rates than unattached women and unattached seniors have lower rates than people under 65. All subcategories of unattached individuals have poverty rates that are substantially higher than the rates for married couples, although none of the recent figures is anywhere close to the very high rates for families led by single-parent mothers.

Trends in poverty among unattached men and women are shown in Figure 2.2 and Figure 2.3 on the next page. The poverty rates for unattached people under 65 tended to rise and fall with unemployment rates until the years following the 1990-1991 recession, while the rates for older unattached people fell more or less steadily. In both age groups, the poverty rates were noticeably higher for women than men.

The poverty rate for unattached women under 65 was 38.1 percent in 1980 and 41.9 percent in 1998. The comparable rates for men were 26.3 percent in 1980 and 31.6 percent in 1998. The gap between women and men was largest in 1980 at 11.8 percentage points and smallest in 1982 at 3.7 percentage points. Between 1997 and 1998, the poverty rate for men dropped 3.1 percentage points compared to a fall of only 0.9 percentage points for women. The gap between men and women in 1998 was at near-record of 10.3 percentage points.

For unattached people 65 and older, the poverty rate for women went from 68.7 percent in 1980 to a record low 39.4 percent in 1998. The rate for men dropped from 57.8 percent in 1980 to 28.9 percent in 1998. Of the groups examined in this chapter, the rate for men over 65 was the only rate that increased between 1997 and 1998. The gap between men and women was smallest at 10.9 percentage points in 1980 and largest at 23.9 points in 1988.

Figure 2.2: Poverty Rates for Unattached People Under 65

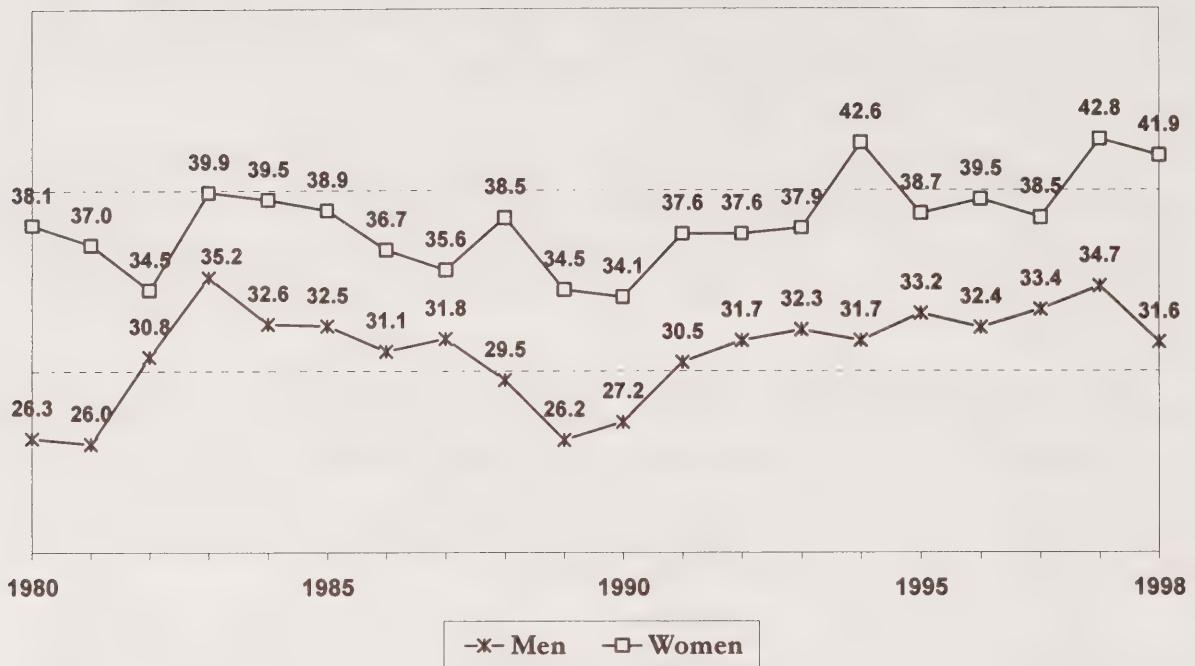
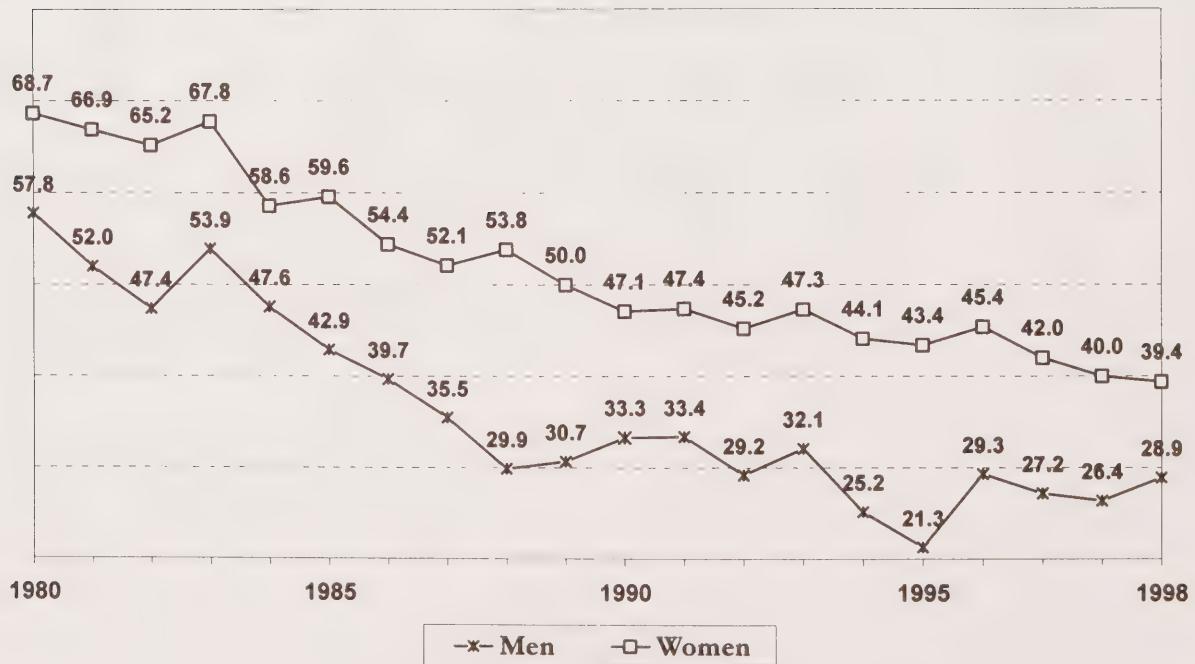


Figure 2.3: Poverty Rates for Unattached People 65 and Older



III. VIEW FROM THE PROVINCES

Economic conditions, the adequacy of pension programs, and family type are major determinants of poverty in all parts of Canada, but there are important differences from province to province. Table 3.1 gives the 1998 provincial statistics for families, unattached individuals and all persons.

For families, poverty rates ranged from a low of 9.1 percent in Prince Edward Island to highs of 17.2 percent in Newfoundland and 17.5 percent in Quebec. The range for unattached individuals was even greater, from 31.1 percent in Ontario to 50.7 percent in Newfoundland. Poverty rates for all persons went from a low of 11.4 percent in P.E.I. to a high of 22.0 percent in Quebec.

TABLE 3.1: POVERTY BY PROVINCE, 1998

	Families		Unattached Individuals		All Persons	
	Number of Poor Families	Poverty Rate	Number of Poor Unattached	Poverty Rate	Number of Poor Persons	Poverty Rate
Newfoundland	28,000	17.2	23,000	50.7	107,000	19.8
Prince Edward Island	3,000	9.1	6,000	33.9	16,000	11.4
Nova Scotia	39,000	15.0	54,000	40.9	165,000	17.9
New Brunswick	30,000	13.3	30,000	37.4	111,000	14.9
Quebec	359,000	17.5	519,000	44.2	1,610,000	22.0
Ontario	350,000	11.0	445,000	31.1	1,543,000	13.5
Manitoba	44,000	14.7	63,000	38.3	205,000	18.8
Saskatchewan	31,000	12.0	54,000	32.6	154,000	15.7
Alberta	86,000	11.1	145,000	34.5	426,000	14.8
British Columbia	129,000	12.3	197,000	31.4	572,000	14.6
Canada	1,099,000	13.2	1,535,000	36.1	4,910,000	16.4

Between 1997 and 1998, family poverty rates dropped in all provinces. Saskatchewan's family poverty rate was 12 percent, the lowest rate since 11.9 percent was recorded in 1980 and 1982.

Among unattached individuals, the poverty rates decreased in all provinces except Nova Scotia and Quebec. In Nova Scotia, the rate increased almost 2 percentage points from 39.1 percent in 1997 to 40.9 percent in 1998. In Quebec, the poverty rate for unattached individuals moved up from 43.4 percent to 44.2 percent.

The poverty rates for all persons dropped slightly in every province. The largest decreases were in Prince Edward Island, Ontario and British Columbia. All had drops of 1.9 percentage points.

The pages that follow contain graphs with detailed information on poverty trends in the provinces. The top half of each page shows provincial poverty rates for all persons from 1980 to 1998. The line with diamond markers and accompanied by percentages shows the provincial poverty rates. For purposes of comparison, each graph includes a second line showing the poverty rates for Canada. The percentages were omitted from this line to avoid confusion in cases where the two lines are close together.

The bottom half of each page gives the poverty rates for families and unattached individuals from 1980 through 1998. The lines without markers and without percentages show the national trends.

The two largest provinces have the most consistent trends over the period studied. Ontario's poverty rates for families, unattached individuals and all persons were among the lowest in Canada and have always stayed well below the national average throughout the period. Quebec's rates were among the highest and have been persistently above the national average. There was much more variation over the years in the other provinces.

Figure 3.1: Newfoundland Trends for All Persons

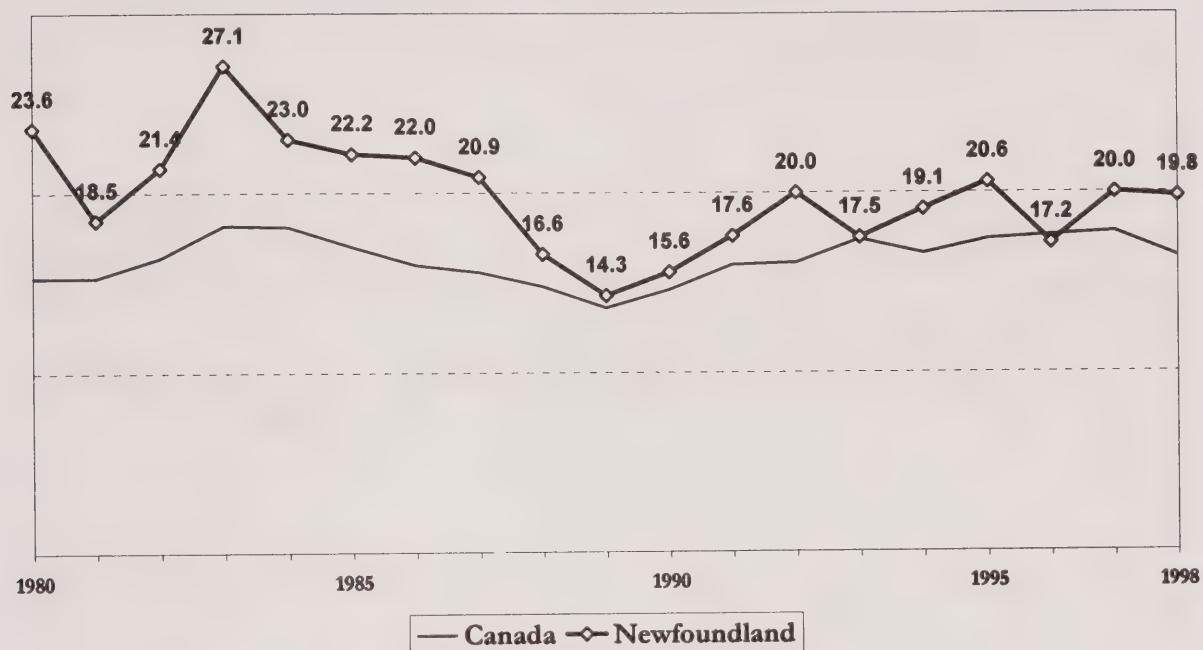


Figure 3.2: Newfoundland Families and Unattached Individuals

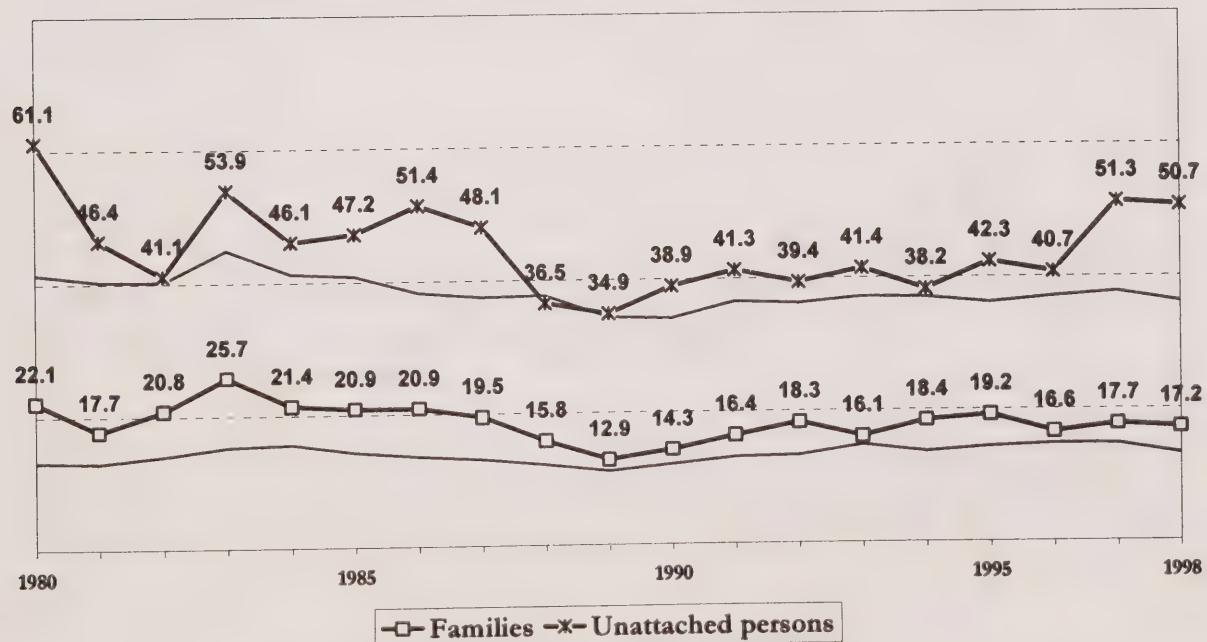


Figure 3.3: Prince Edward Island Trends for All Persons

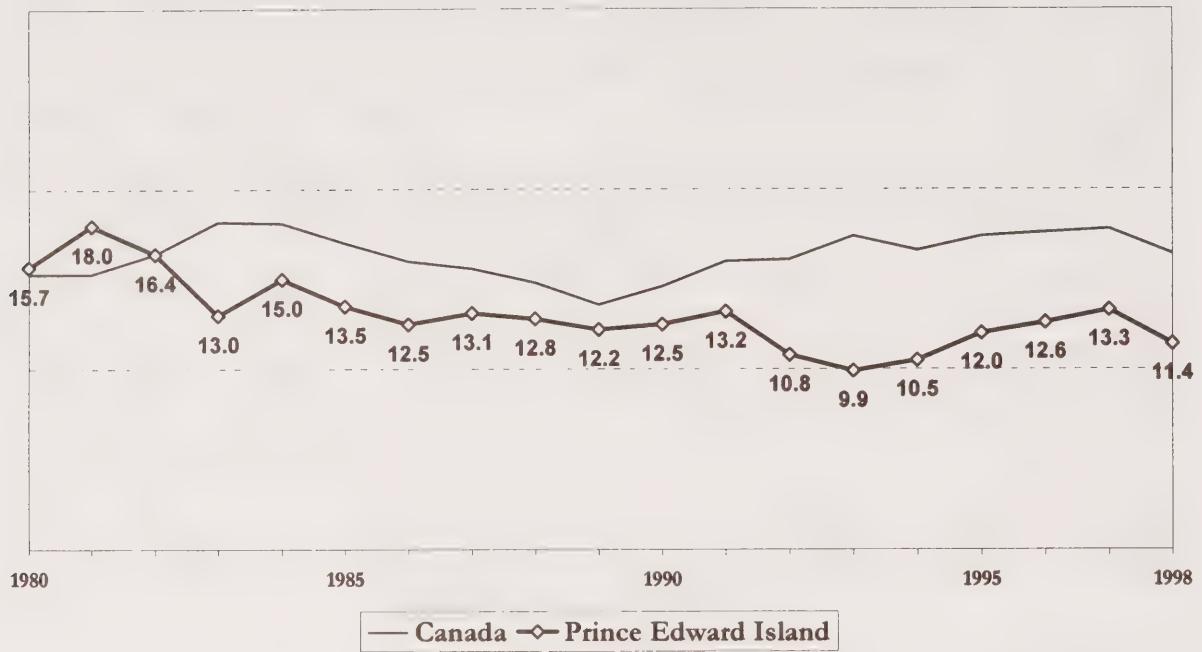


Figure 3.4: Prince Edward Island Families and Unattached Individuals

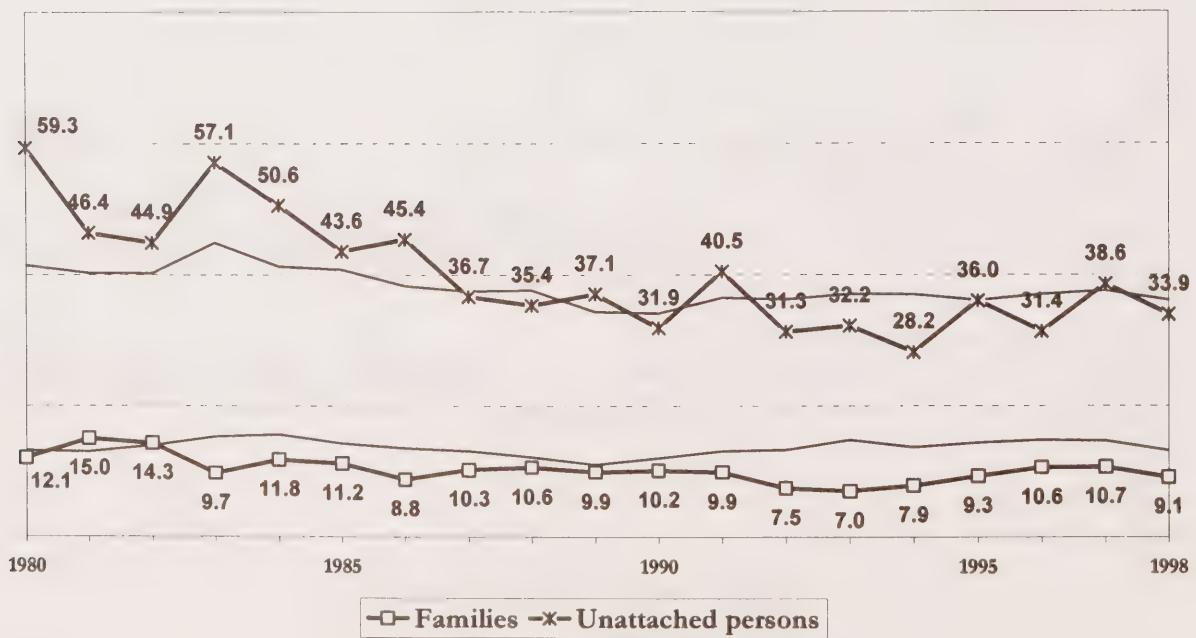


Figure 3.5: Nova Scotia Trends for All Persons

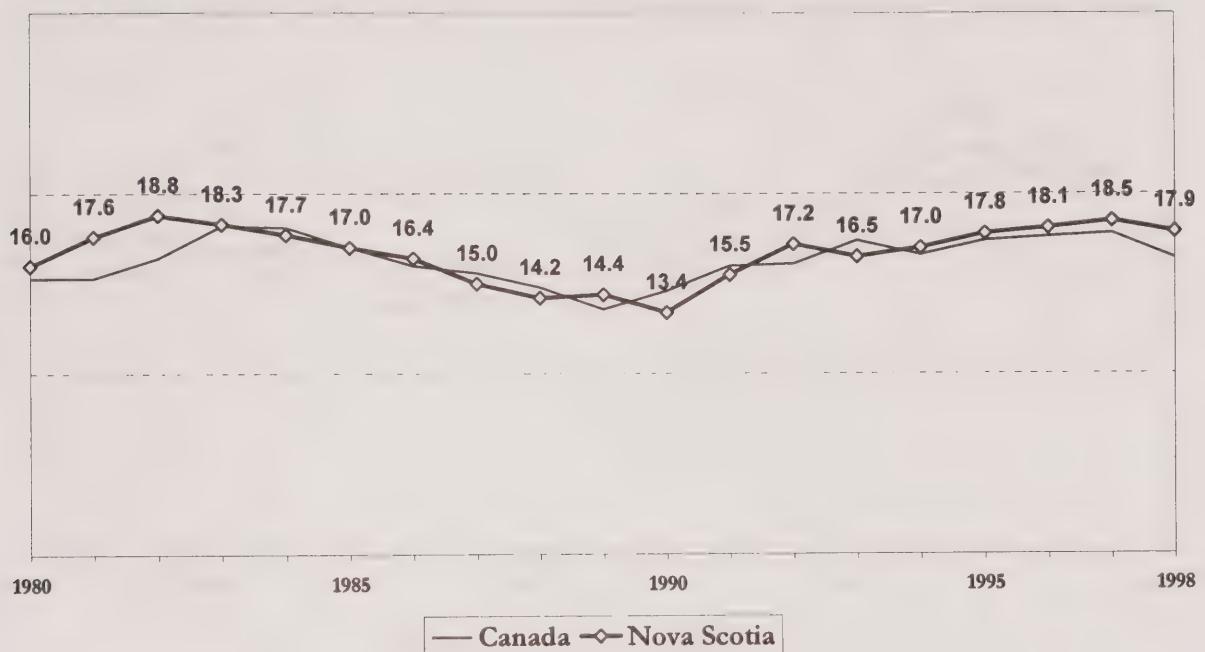


Figure 3.6: Nova Scotia Families and Unattached Individuals

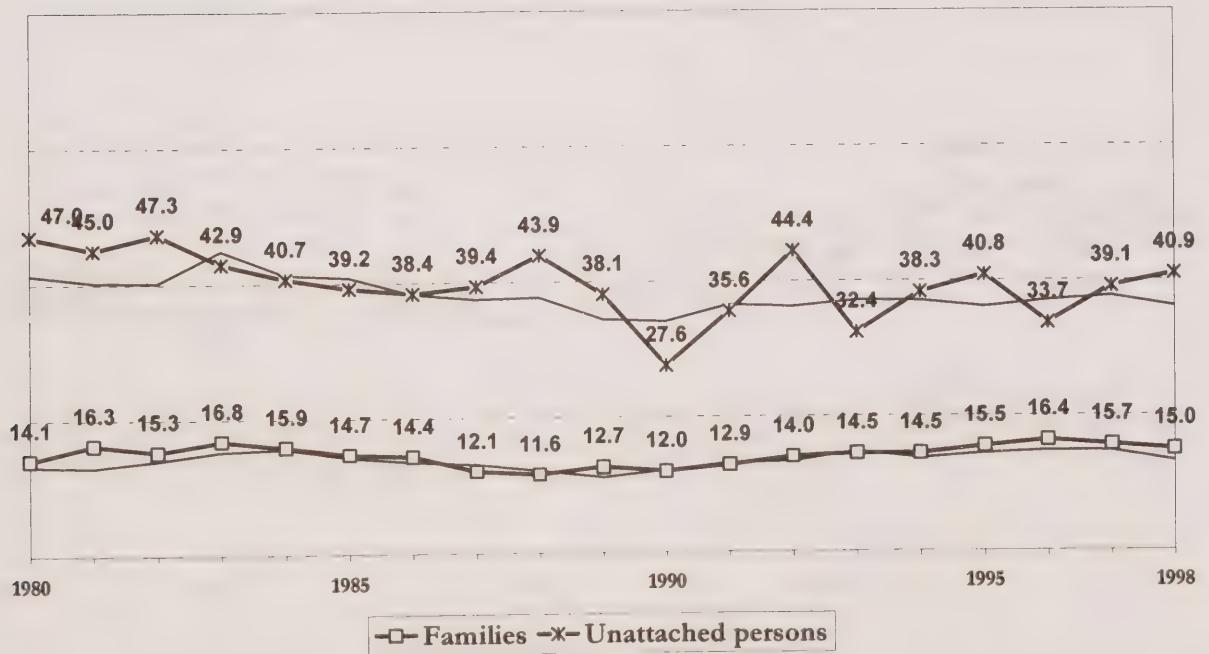


Figure 3.7: New Brunswick Trends for All Persons

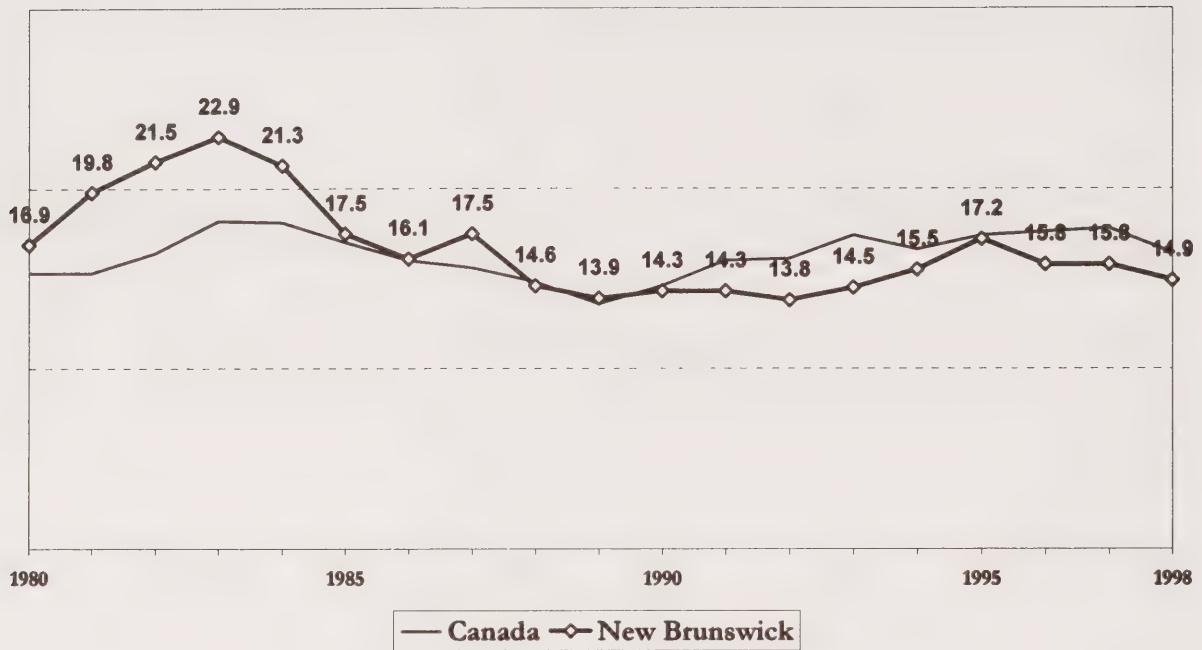


Figure 3.8: New Brunswick Families and Unattached Individuals

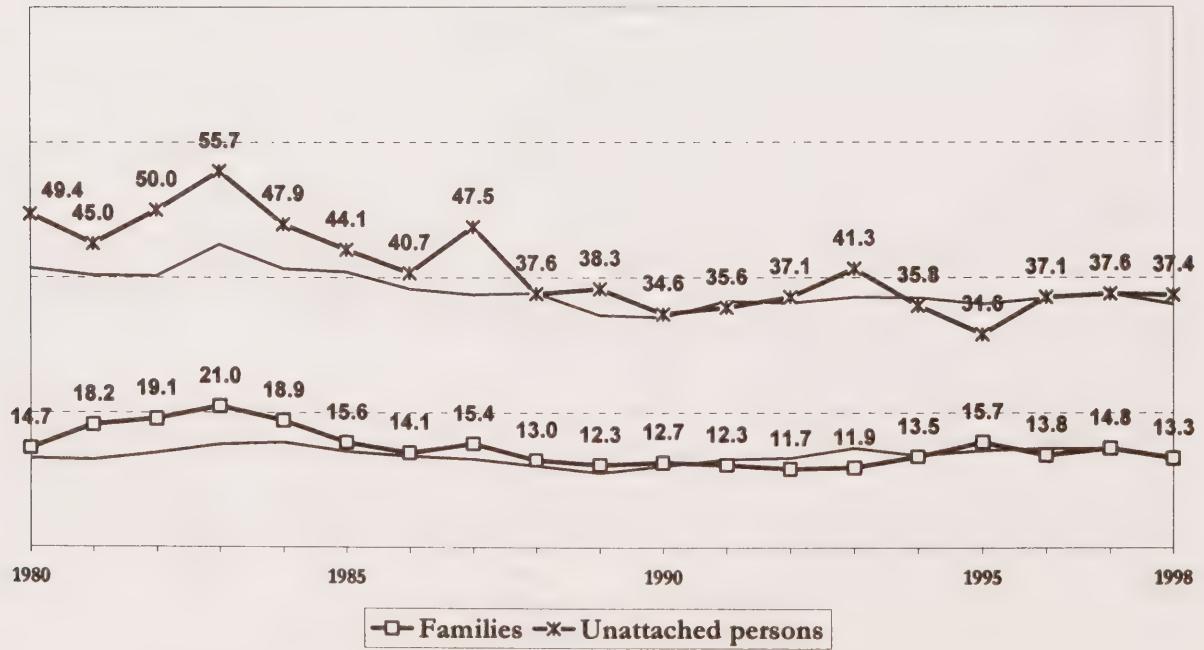


Figure 3.9: Quebec Trends for All Persons

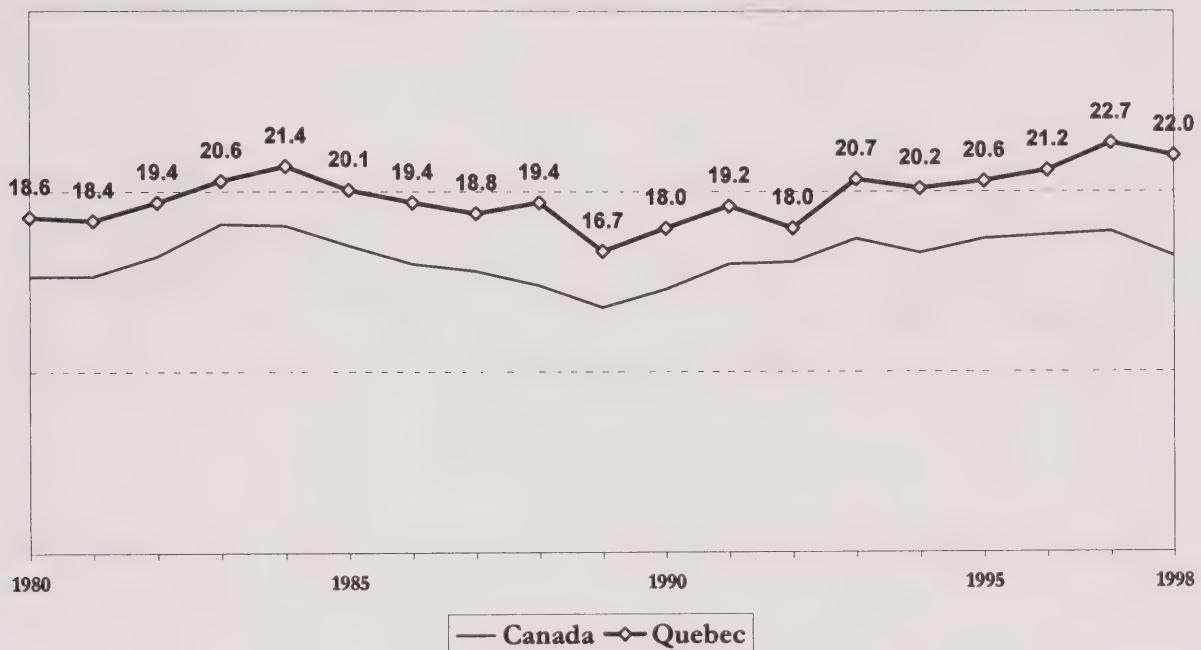


Figure 3.1: Quebec Families and Unattached Individuals

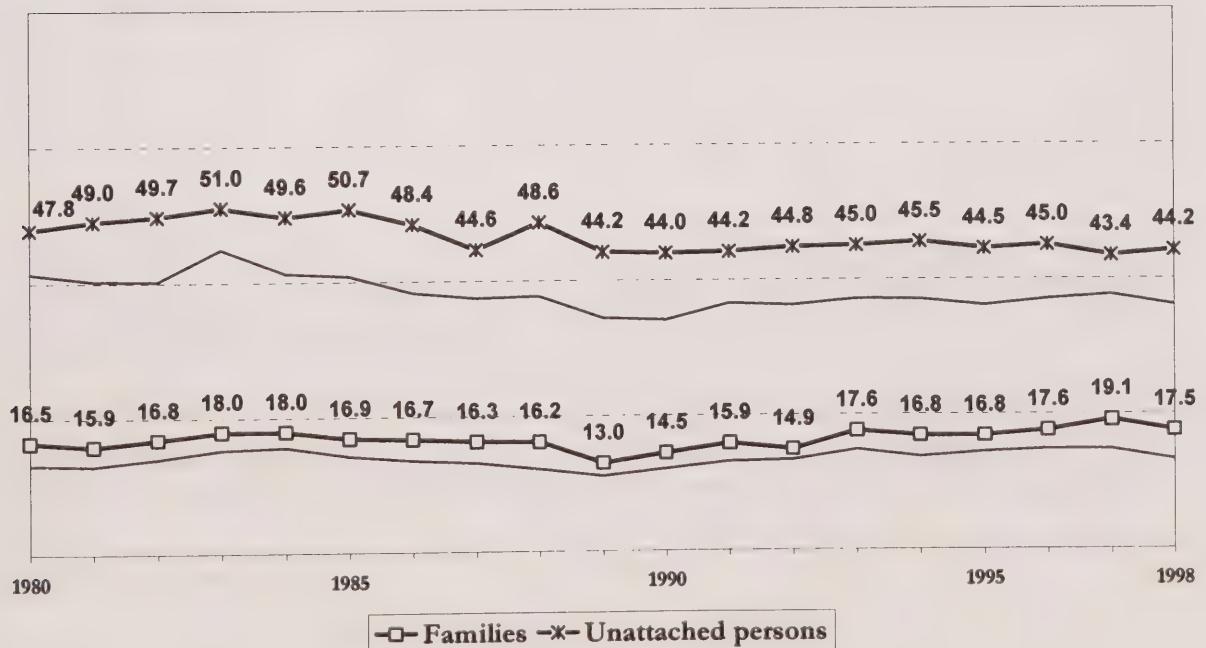


Figure 3.11: Ontario Trends for All Persons

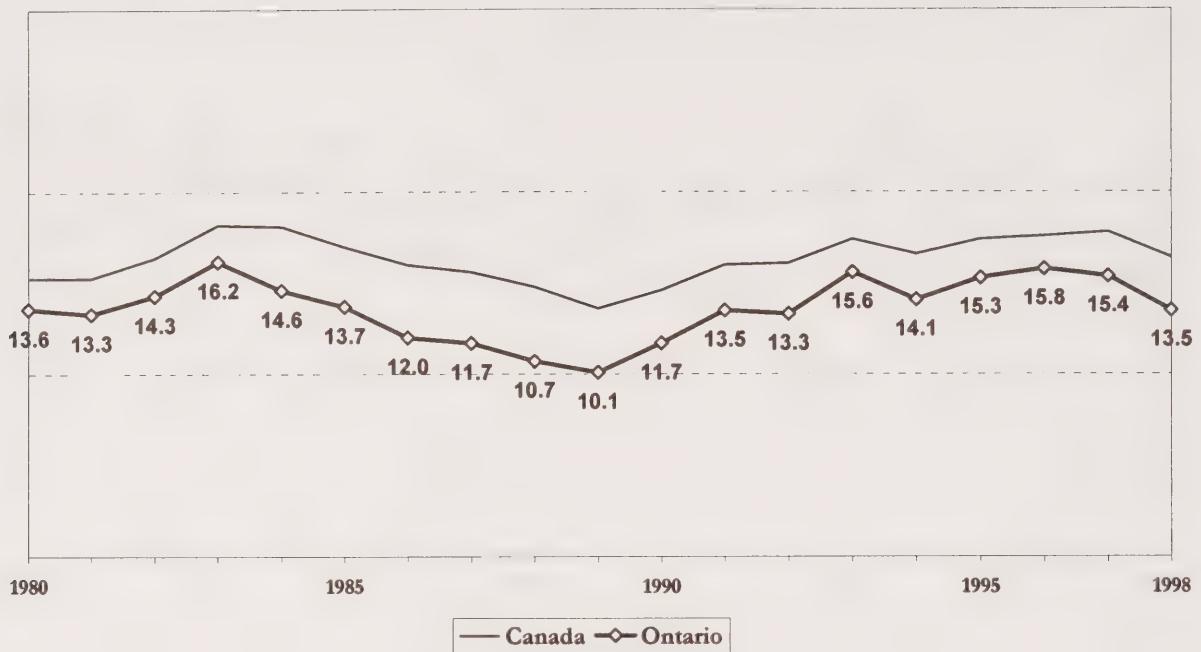


Figure 3.12: Ontario Families and Unattached Individuals

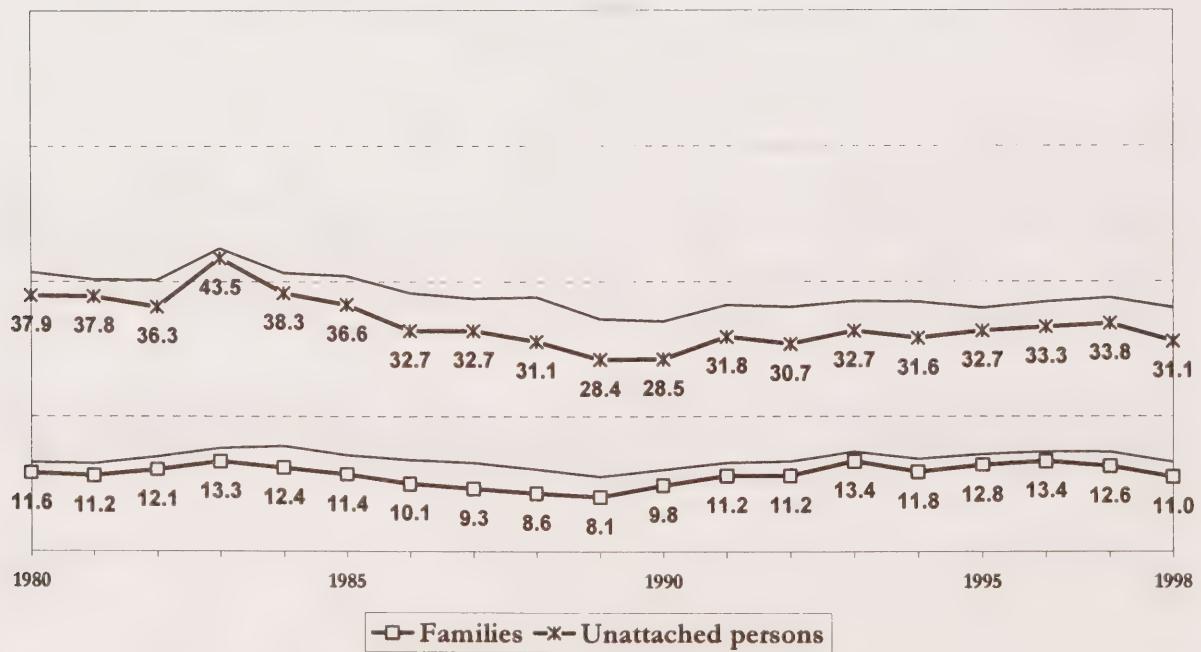


Figure 3.13: Manitoba Trends for All Persons

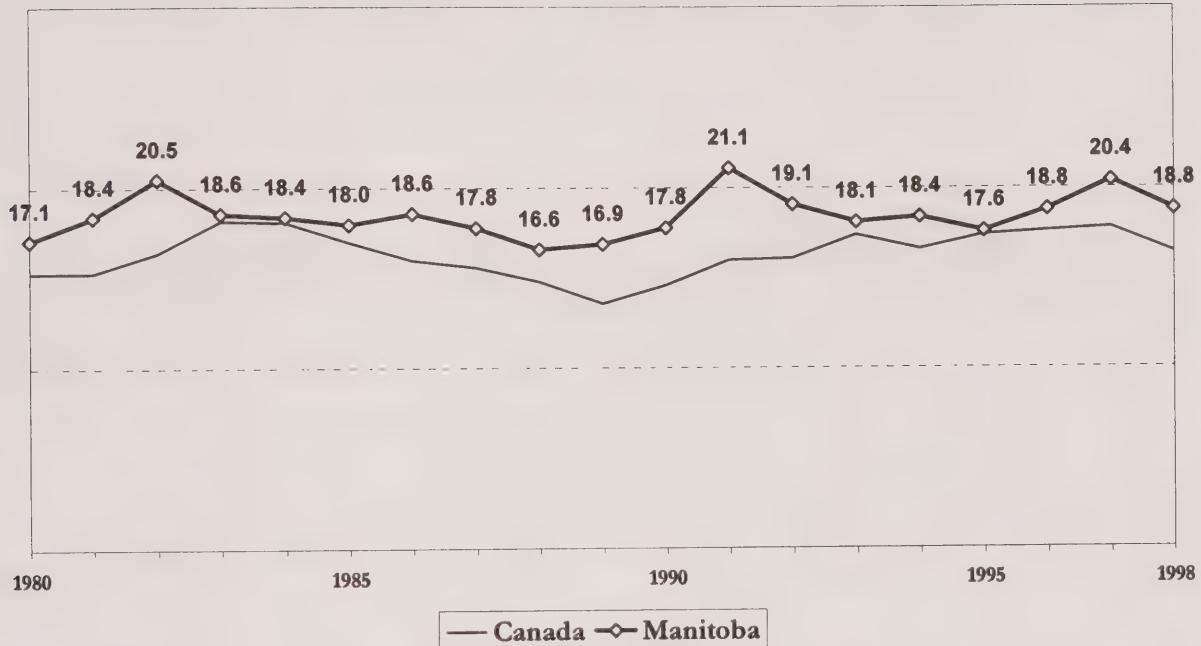


Figure 3.14: Manitoba Families and Unattached Individuals

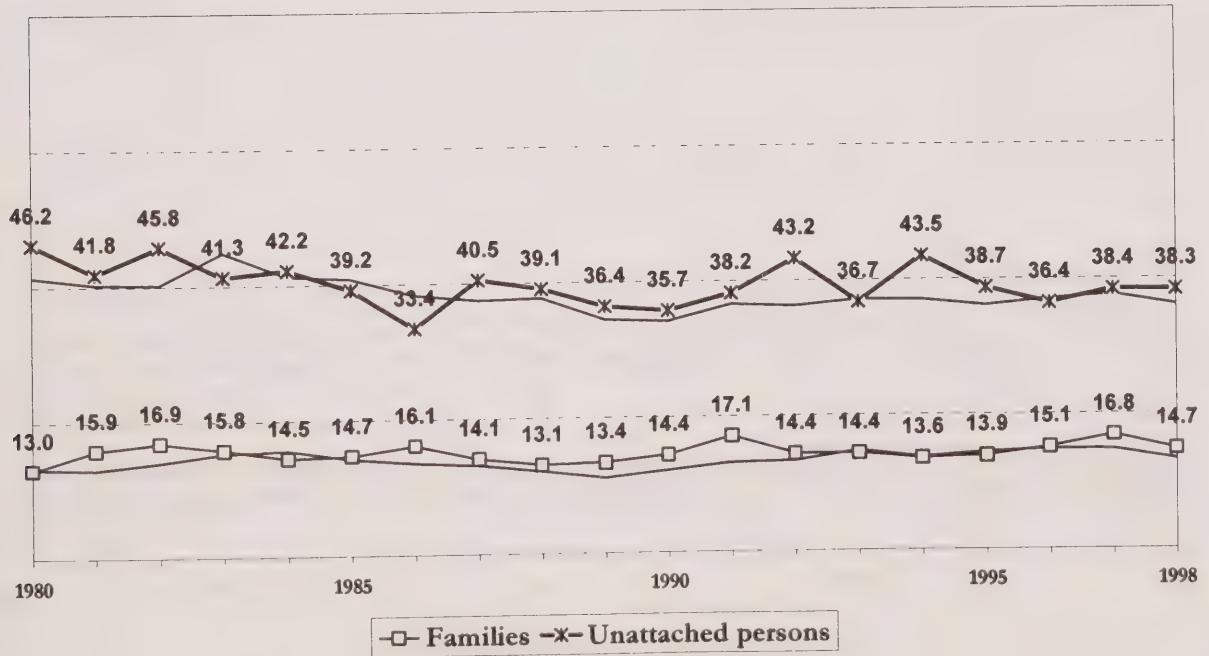


Figure 3.15: Saskatchewan Trends for All Persons

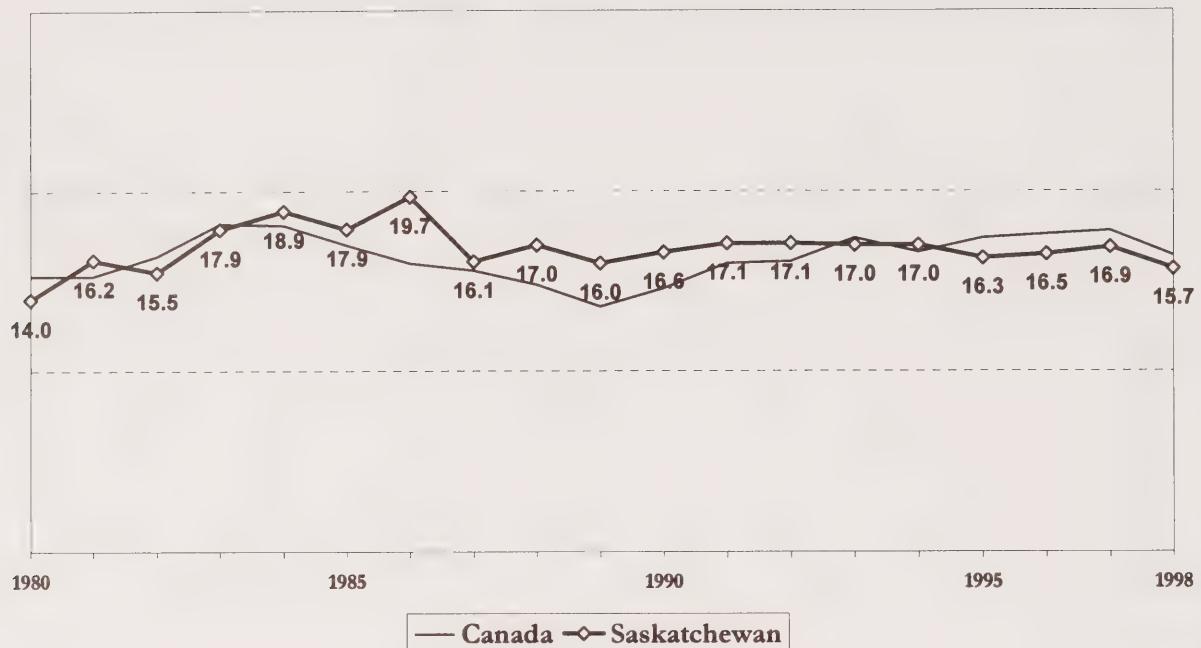


Figure 3.16: Saskatchewan Families and Unattached Individuals

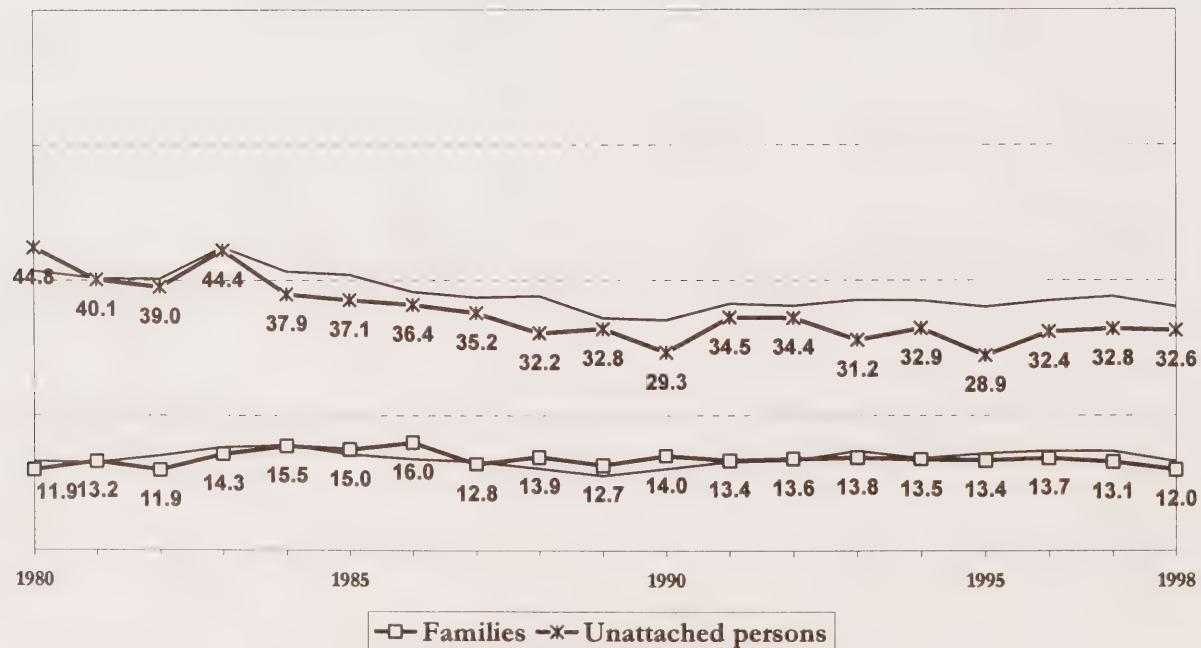


Figure 3.17: Alberta Trends for All Persons

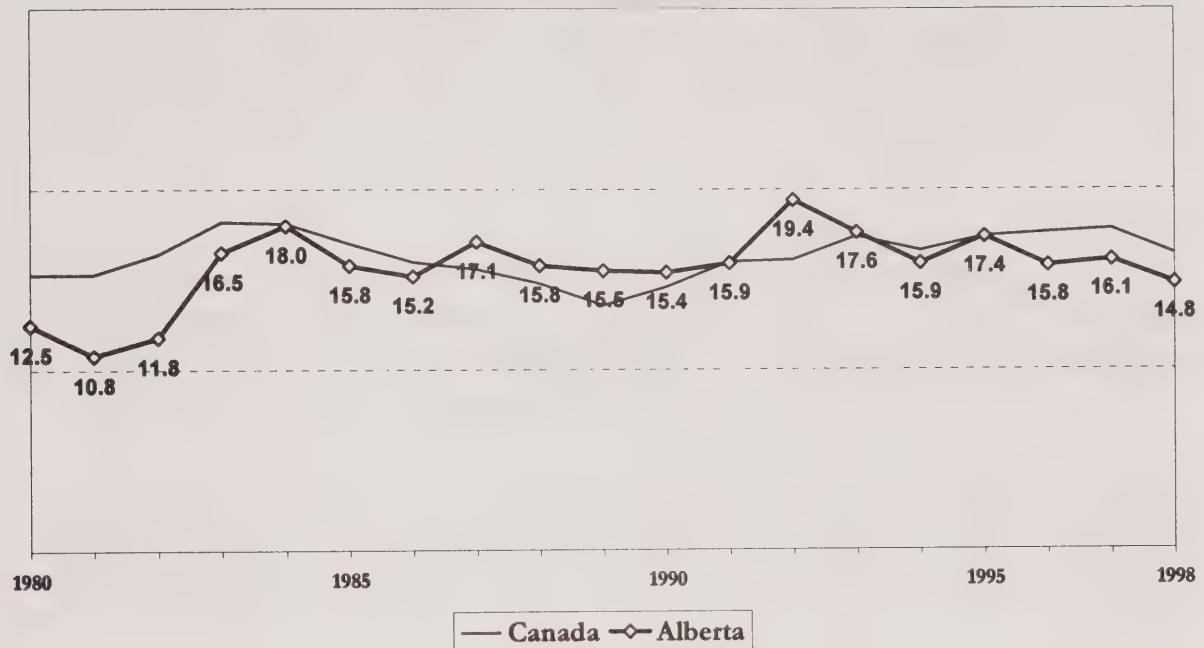


Figure 3.18: Alberta Families and Unattached Individuals

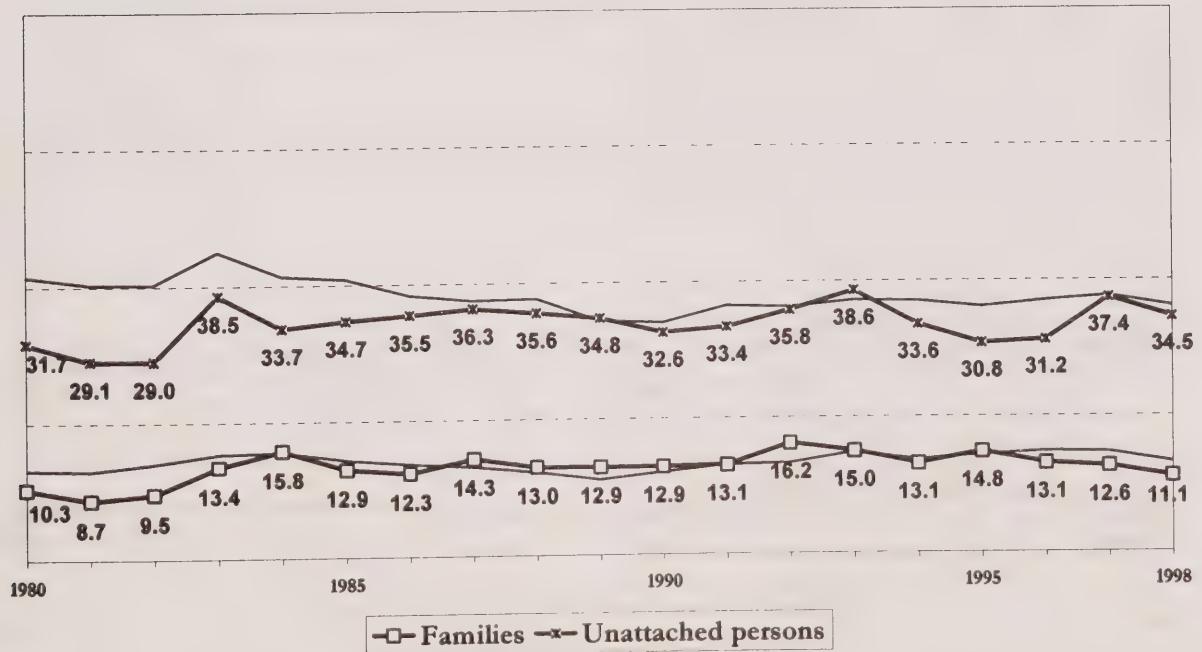


Figure 3.19: British Columbia Trends for All Persons

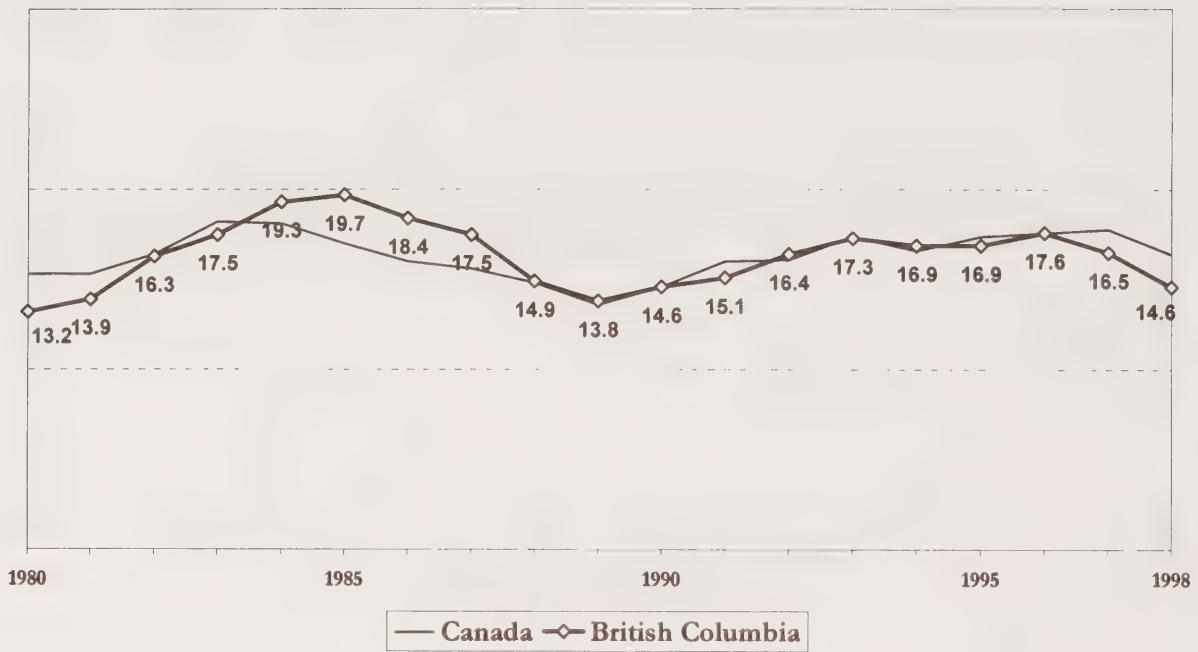
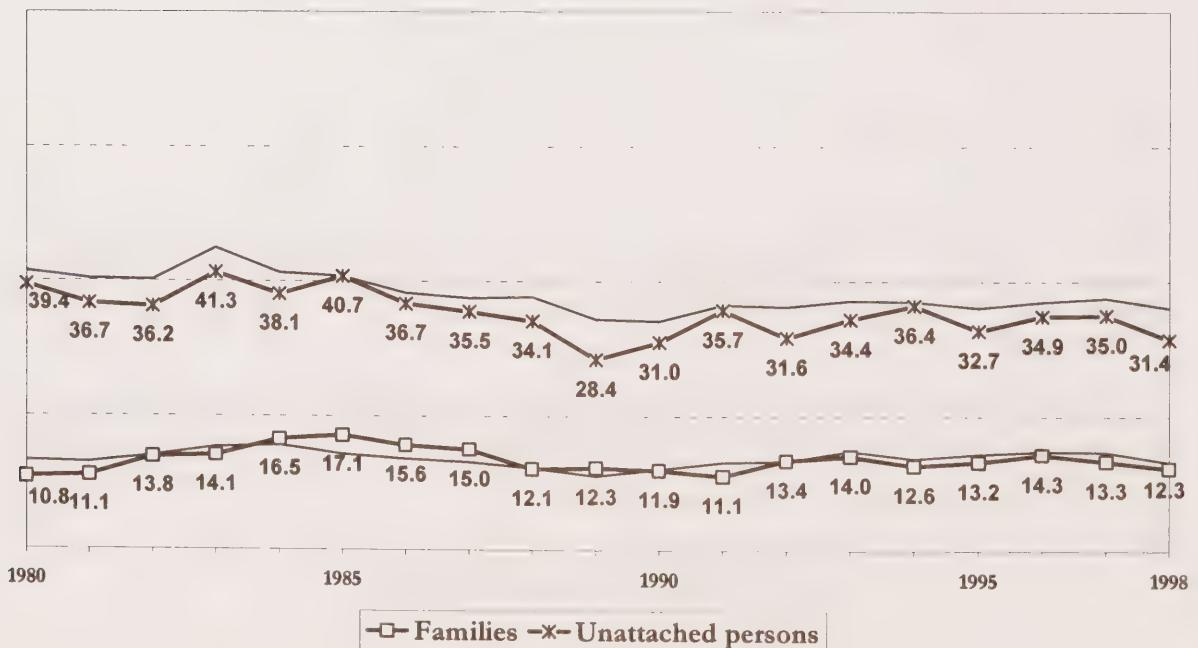


Figure 3.20: British Columbia Families and Unattached Individuals



IV. SNAPSHOTS OF POVERTY IN 1998

Poverty rates vary with family type, sex, age, employment, education, and the population of the area of residence. Among families with children, they vary with the number and age of the children. Among immigrants, there are important differences based on the length of time in Canada.

FAMILY TYPE

Probably the most important overall determinant of the risk of poverty is family type. As we described in Chapter 2, family type refers to the eight subcategories of families and unattached individuals that take account of age and gender as well as family circumstances.

Figure 4.1 displays poverty rates for the eight family types, with the highest poverty rates at the left and the lowest at the right. The group with the highest poverty rate in 1998 was single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. The next four bars represent unattached individuals. The poverty rates for unattached women were higher than the rates for unattached men. The three types of husband-wife families had noticeably lower poverty rates than the other family types.

The pies in Figure 4.2 show the number of poor families or poor unattached individuals by family type as a proportion of all poor families or unattached individuals. Among poor families, the two largest groups were couples under 65 with children under 18 and families led by single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18.

Among poor unattached individuals, the most striking comparison is between elderly men and women. Poor unattached women 65 and older outnumbered poor unattached men 65 and older by a margin of more than 3.5 to one. The numbers of poor unattached men and women under 65 were much closer. Men under 65 made up 37 percent of total poor unattached people, just two percentage points greater than women under 65.

Figure 4.1: Poverty Rates by Family Type, 1998

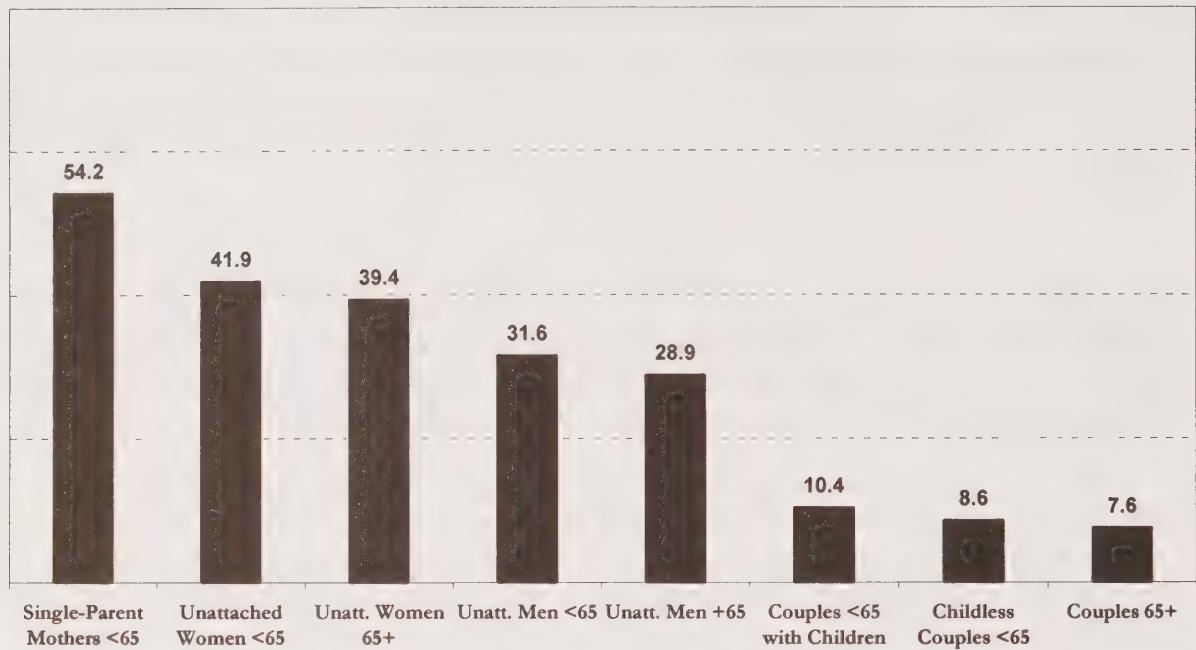
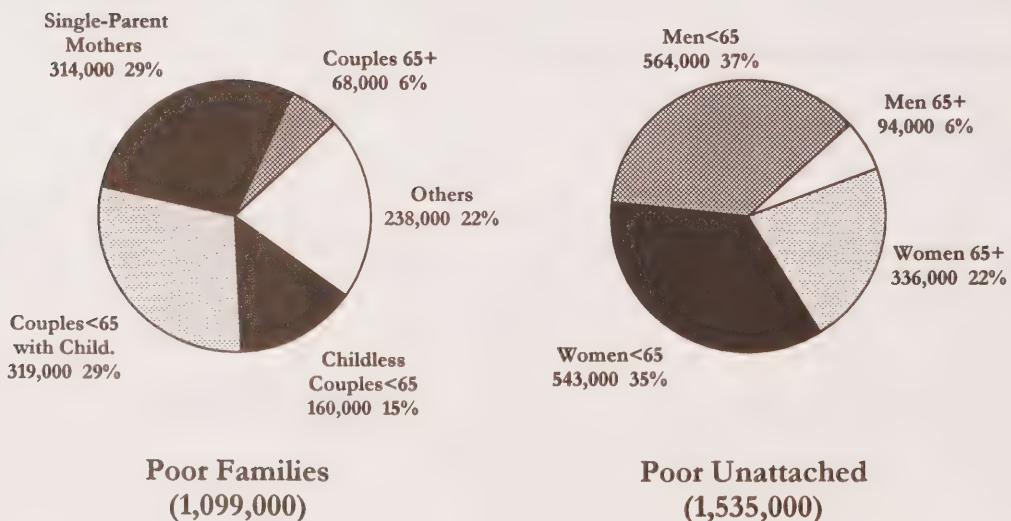


Figure 4.2: Distribution of Poor Families and Unattached Individuals, 1998

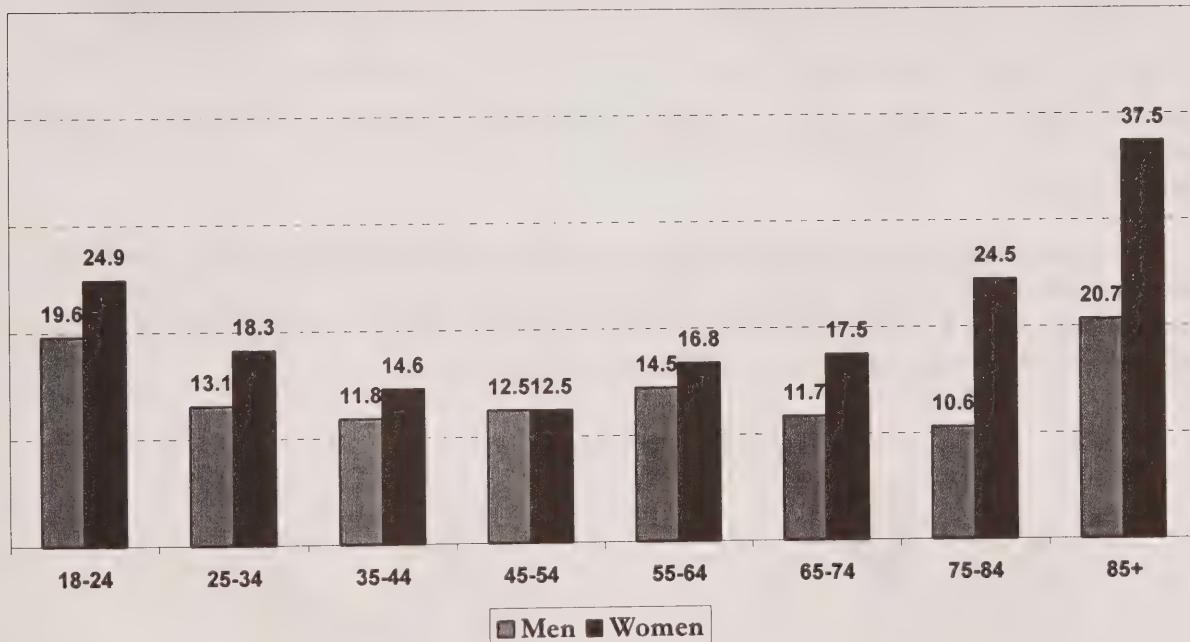


DIFFERENCES BY AGE, GENDER AND FAMILY TYPE

Figure 4.3 gives the poverty rates for men and women by age, irrespective of their family status. With the exception of 45 to 54 year olds, the rates for women were higher in all cases than the rates for men. The differences between the two were most pronounced in the oldest groups.

The poverty rates for both men and women were relatively high for the age group 18 to 24. That is partly a reflection of higher unemployment rates among young people and partly because entry-level wages are lower than wages for experienced workers. Poverty rates for women decline in the age groups that follow until the age group 55 to 64. Poverty rates for men decline until the age group 45 to 54. Higher poverty rates for older working age men and women tend to reflect the difficulties older workers have when they lose their jobs. The higher rate for women 55 through 64 may also be due to an increasing number of widows.

**Figure 4.3: Poverty Rates for Persons
by Age Group and Sex, 1998**



The rates for older men and women show that the gap between the two widens with age. One reason for higher poverty rates among elderly women is the fact that women live longer than men on average. The older groups contain a large number of women who are unattached, many of them widows, and unattached persons invariably have higher poverty rates than couples.

The combination graph on the next page provides additional information about poverty by age group among people under 65 and highlights some interesting differences between family types. Figures 4.4 and 4.5 feature couples under 65 with children under 18 and single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. Figures 4.6 and 4.7 show couples under 65 without children and unattached persons under 65, both men and women.

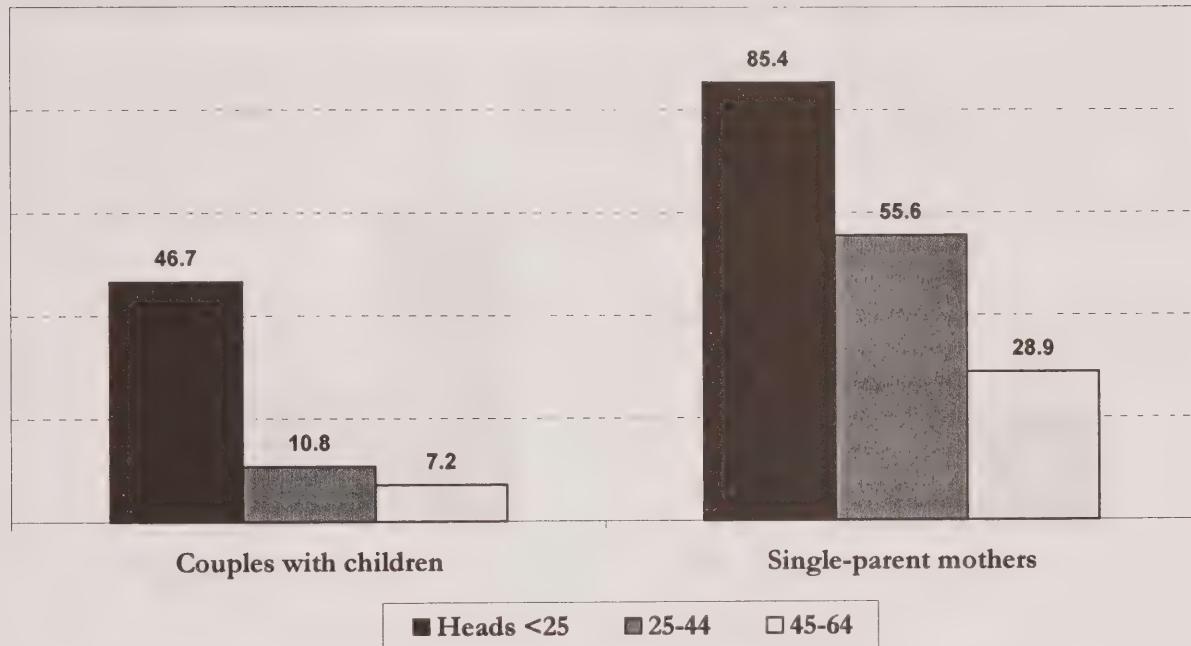
For both of the family types with children, the poverty rates were highest for young family heads and lowest for older family heads. Figure 4.4 shows that the poverty rate for couples less than 25 was 46.7 percent in 1998, and the rate for single-parent mothers under 25 was an inexcusably high 85.4 percent. The poverty rates for both family types fell for parents in older age groups.

Figure 4.5 shows the distribution of poor couples with children and poor single-parent mothers by their age group. More than three-quarters (79 percent) of poor families with children are headed by parents in the age group 25 through 44. This is not surprising given that most women have babies while they are in their 20s or 30s. The proportion of poor single-parent mothers less than 25 years old was slightly more than twice as high as that for couples.

The patterns were markedly different for couples without children and unattached individuals. Figure 4.6 shows that poverty rates were highest for those under 25. They fell sharply for people in the age group 25 through 44. Then, instead of falling further for the oldest age group, they started rising once again, although not to the highs of the youngest age group. The poverty rate for couples 45 through 64 was 9.3 percent, and the rate for the same age group of unattached persons was 39.9 percent.

The higher poverty rates for older childless couples and older unattached people are doubly disturbing because of the large number of poor people in the age group 45 through 64. Figure 4.7 shows that the 45 to 64 age group accounted for 63 percent of the poor couples without children under 65 and 38 percent of the poor unattached persons under 65.

**Figure 4.4: Poverty Rates by Family Type
for Age Groups Under 65, 1998**



**Figure 4.5: Distribution of Poor Families
by Age of Family Head, 1998**

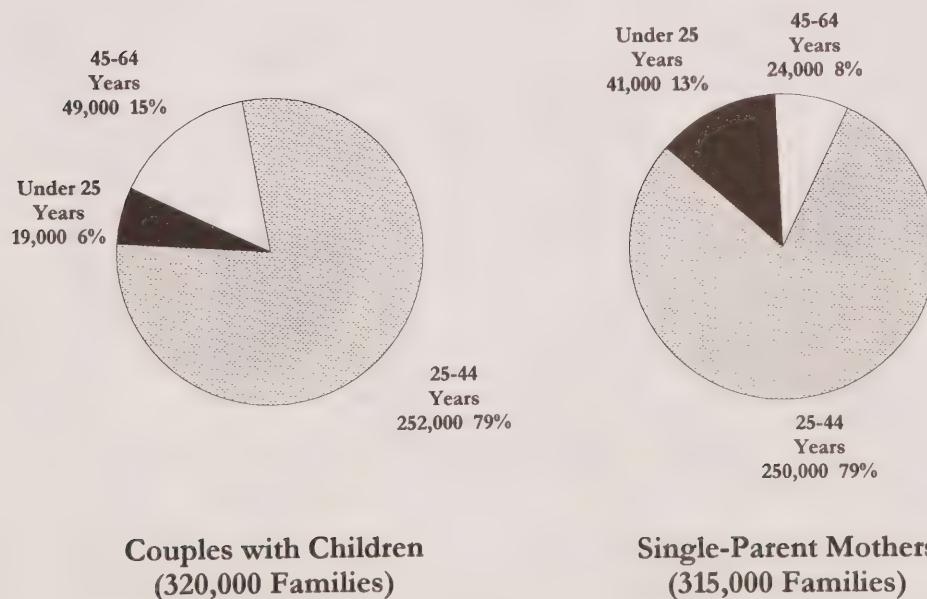


Figure 4.6: Poverty Rates by Family Type for Age Groups Under 65, 1998

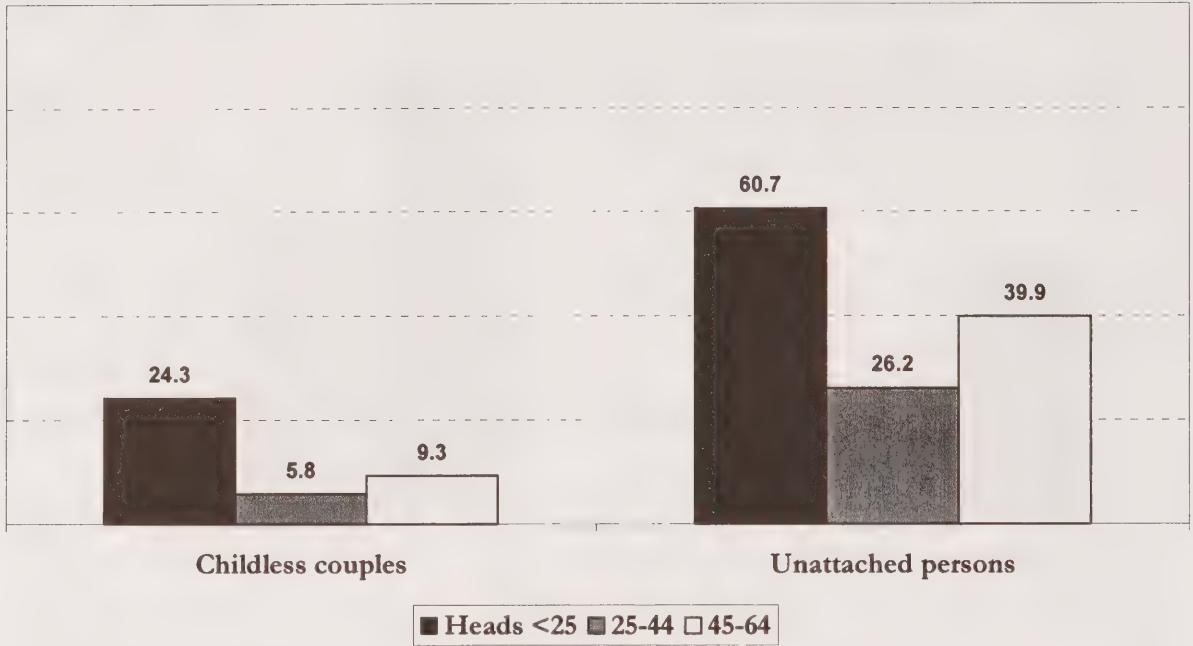
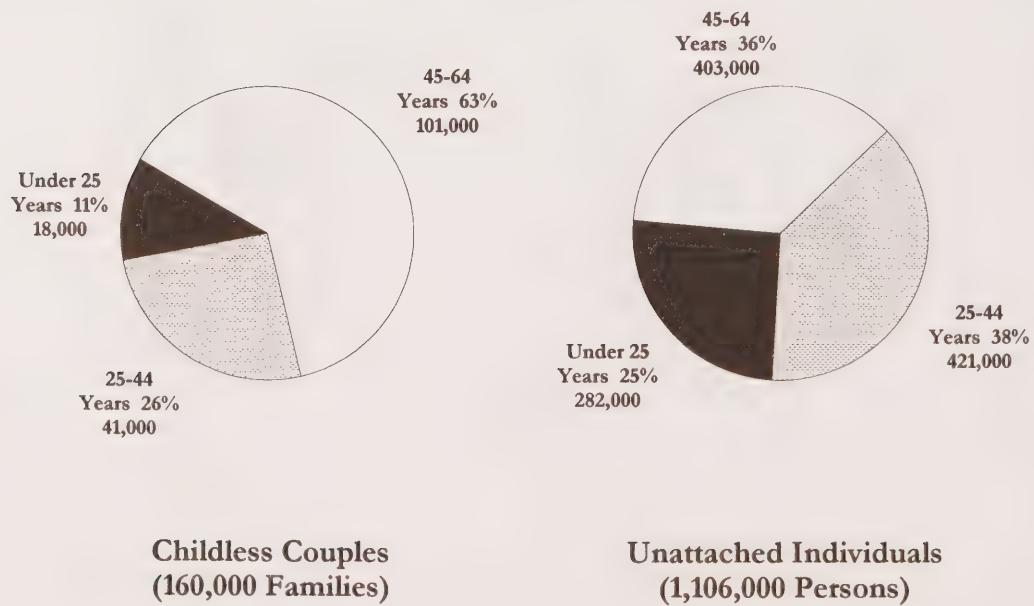


Figure 4.7: Distribution of Poor Childless Couples and Unattached Persons by Age Group, 1998

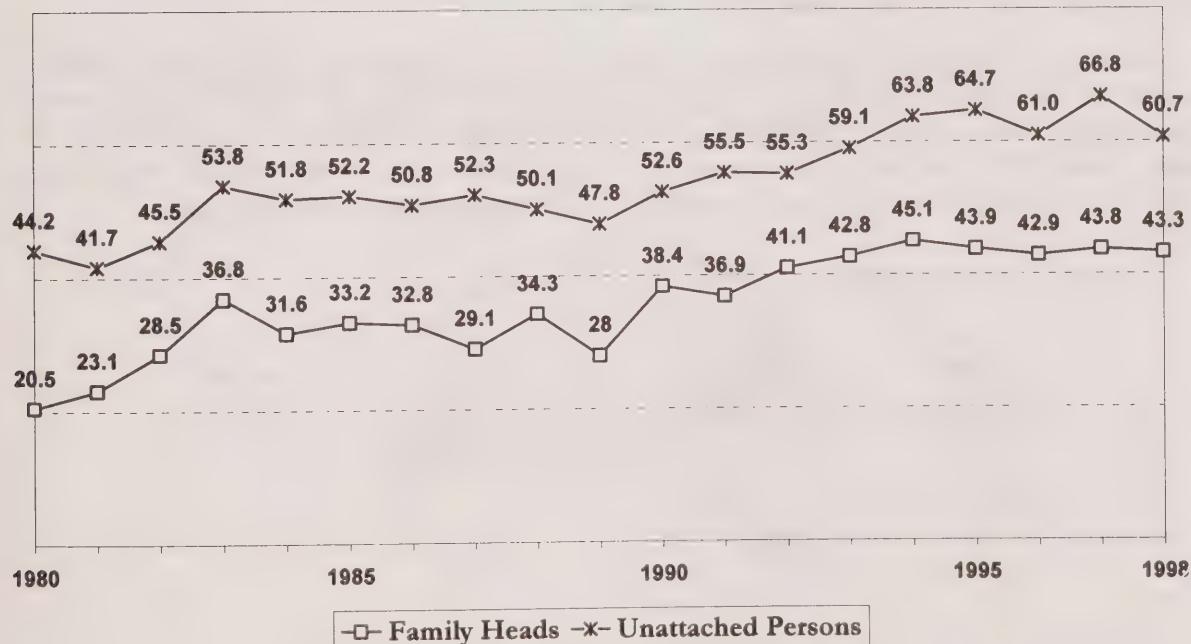


The link between aging and poverty among childless couples and unattached people 45 to 64 probably reflects the difficulties in the labour market facing older workers and increasing problems with health or disabilities. Some of the older unattached persons were no doubt widows or widowers who fell into poverty on the deaths of their spouses.

Poverty among young families and young unattached people continues to be a concern. Figure 4.8 shows the poverty rates for families headed by people under 25 and unattached individuals under 25 from 1980 through 1998. Poverty rates for the unattached rose following the recession of 1981-1982 and remained at very high levels for most of the rest of the decade. After a slight dip in 1989, rates began rising again and hit a high of 66.8 percent in 1997 before falling to 60.7 percent in 1998.

The picture was a bit less gloomy for young families, but the poverty rate is up sharply since 1989. The rate peaked at 45.1 percent in 1995 and has remained around 43 to 44 percent since then.

Figure 4.8: Poverty Rates for Family Heads and Unattached Individuals Under 25



WORK ACTIVITY

A good job is the best insurance against poverty for many Canadians under the age of 65. One of the most revealing ways of showing how the risk of poverty decreases as work activity increases is to look at the number of weeks worked during the year.

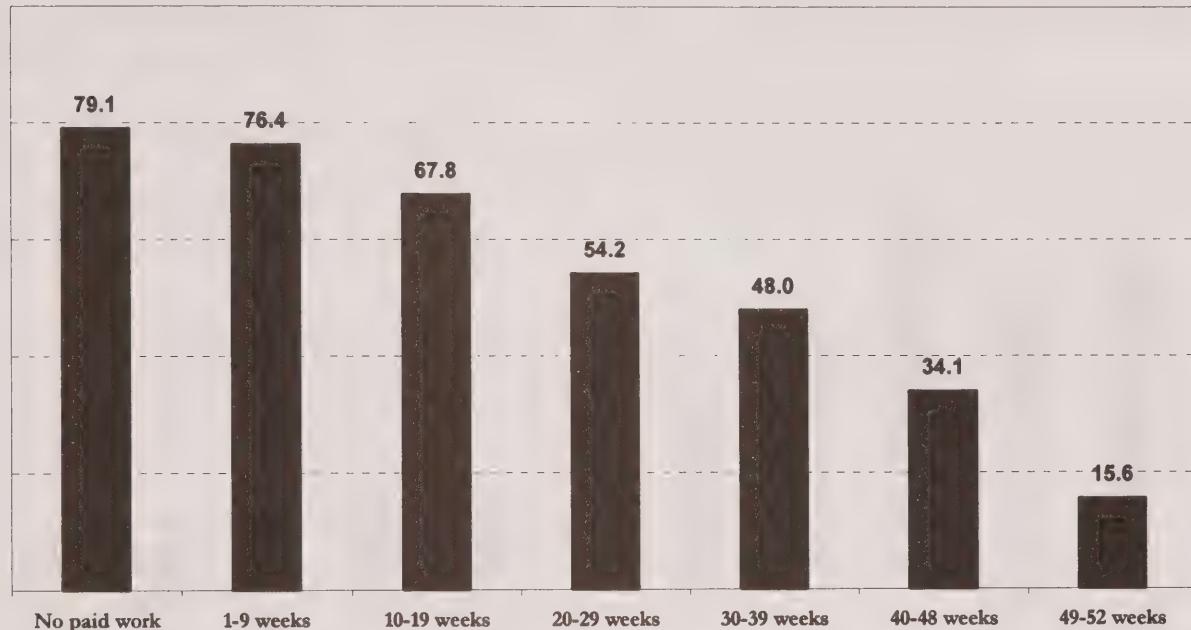
Figure 4.9 shows how the poverty rate for unattached individuals under 65 declined as their weeks of work increased. The poverty rate for unattached persons with no paid work was 79.1 percent in 1998. The poverty rate for unattached persons with only one to nine weeks of work in 1998 was almost as high at 76.4 percent. The rate steadily decreased as the number of weeks worked increased to a low of 15.6 percent for those who worked for 49 to 52 weeks.

The same general pattern holds true for families with heads under 65 as shown in Figure 4.11. The number of weeks worked for a family includes weeks of work by the major income earner plus weeks of work by a spouse in the case of married couples. All the married couples with only one wage-earner and all single-parent families are covered by the bars in the graph that end at 49 to 52 weeks of work. The last three bars on the right represent husband-wife families where the two spouses together worked a total of more than 52 weeks. The poverty rate for couples under 65 working 103 or more weeks in 1998 was a mere 3.2 percent.

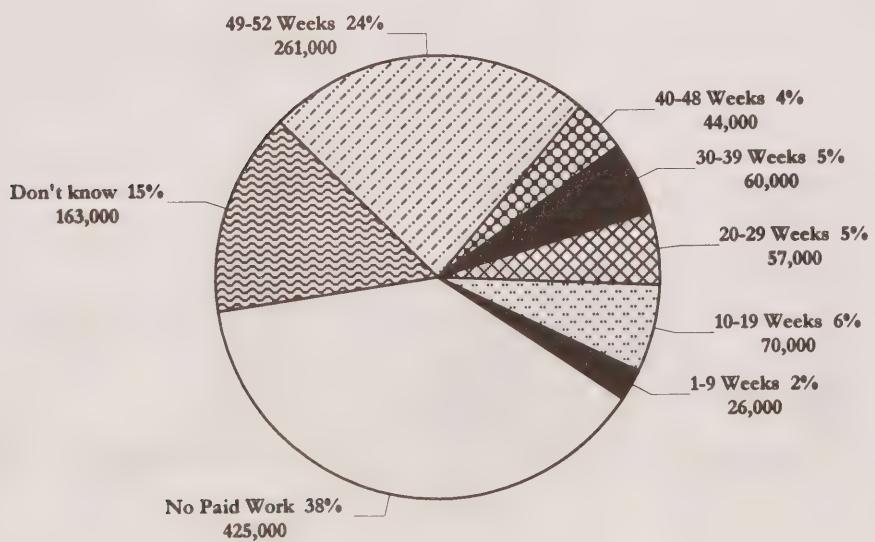
Figures 4.10 and 4.12 show the distribution of poor unattached persons under 65 and poor families with heads under 65. Not surprisingly, the largest slices of the two pies represent poor people who did not work for pay in 1998.

On the other hand, the pie charts also show that even a full year of work does not always insulate a person from poverty. Some 261,000 unattached persons - or 24 percent of all poor unattached persons under 65 - were poor in 1998 even though they worked between 49 and 52 weeks. Some 94,000 families - or 10 percent of all poor families with heads under 65 - were poor even when husbands and wives together worked for 103 or more weeks during the year.

**Figure 4.9: Poverty Rates by Weeks of Work,
Unattached Persons Under 65, 1998**

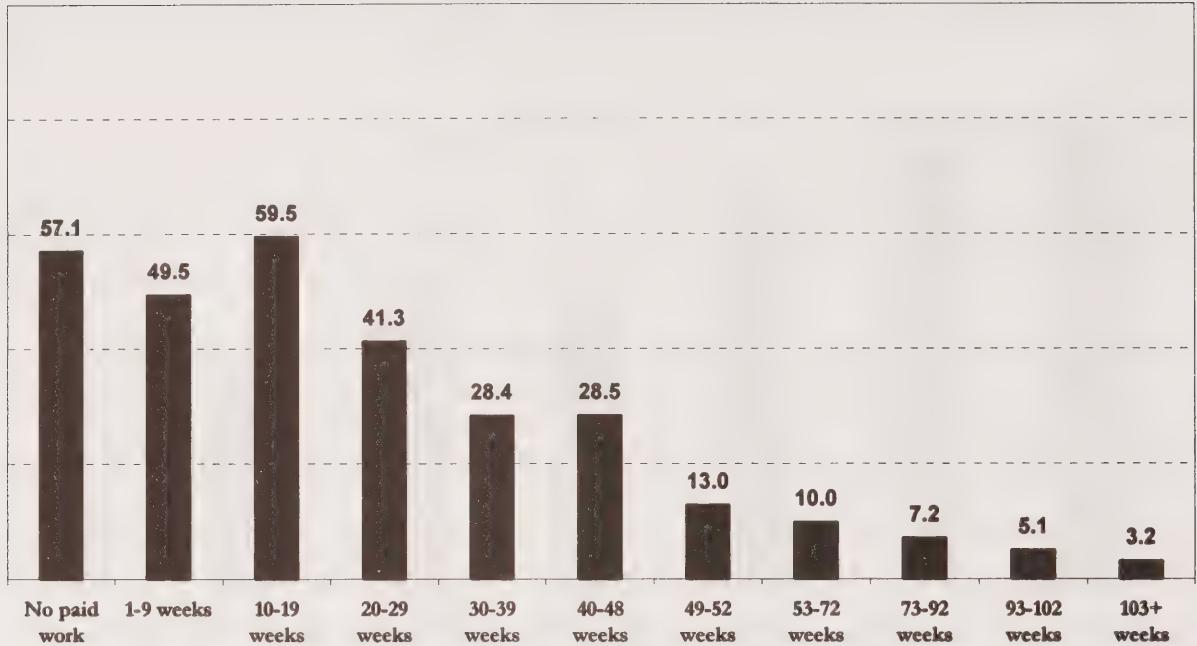


**Figure 4.10: Distribution of Poor Unattached Persons
Under 65 by Weeks of Work, 1998**

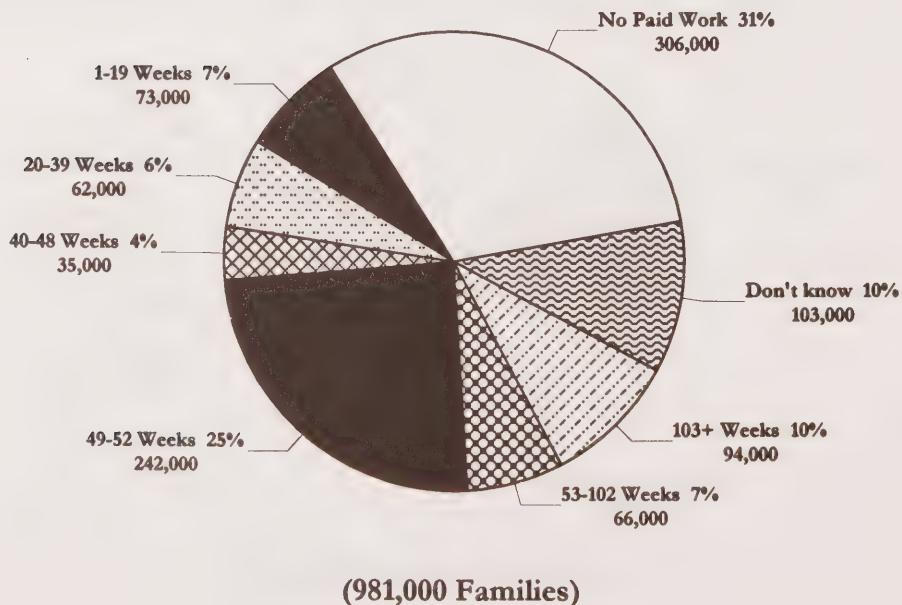


(1,106,000 Unattached Persons)

**Figure 4.11: Poverty Rates by Weeks of Work,
Families Under 65, 1998**



**Figure 4.12: Distribution of Poor Families
Under 65 by Weeks of Work, 1998**



NUMBER AND AGE OF CHILDREN

We have seen that poverty rates vary substantially by family type. Rates for two-parent families are relatively low, and rates for families led by single-parent mothers are staggeringly high. Within these general ranges, the rates vary noticeably with the number and age of children.

Figure 4.13 shows the poverty rates for two-parent families, and Figure 4.14 shows the rates for families led by single-parent mothers. Although the patterns are not perfect, the two graphs suggest that poverty rates increase with the number of children but decrease once the youngest child reaches school age.

For example, look at the poverty rates in Figure 4.14 for families led by single-parent mothers with two children. The poverty rate for these families when both children were under age seven was 87.2 percent in 1998. The rate drops to 60.9 percent when the two children were of mixed age groups - one under seven and one seven through 17. The lowest rate was 48.7 percent when both children were seven or older.

The risk of poverty is higher for families of all types with very young children because the job of caring for infants and toddlers sometimes keeps mothers out of the labour force. The absence of high-quality, affordable child care is a major problem for parents with young children, especially single parents. Mothers are more inclined to take jobs outside the home once their youngest children are off to school.

Figure 4.13: Poverty Rates for Two-Parent Families under 65, by Number and Age Group of Children Under 18, 1998

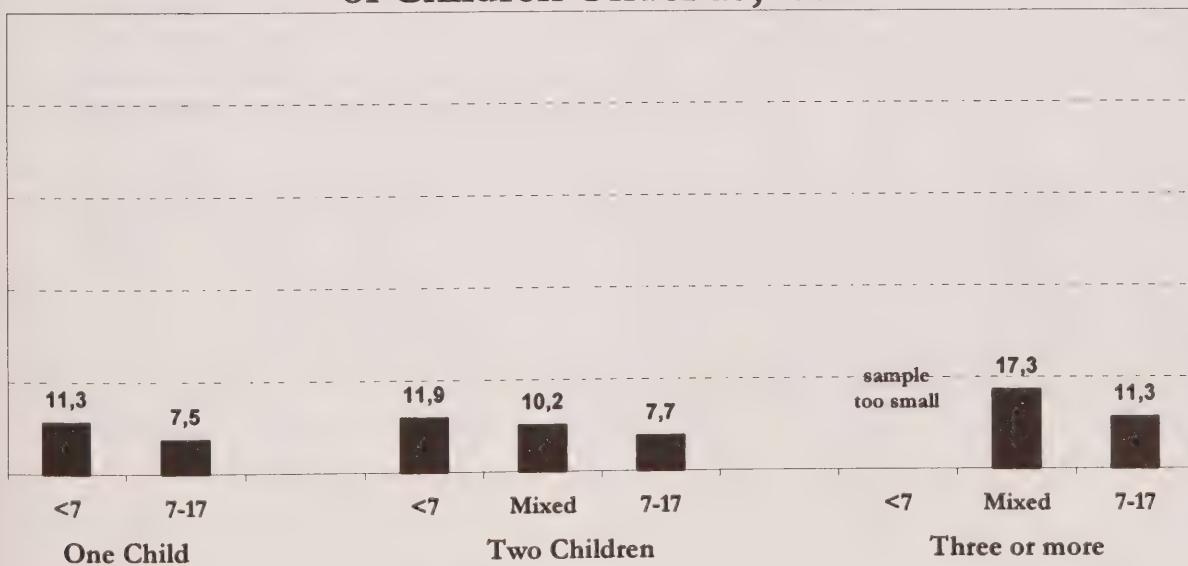
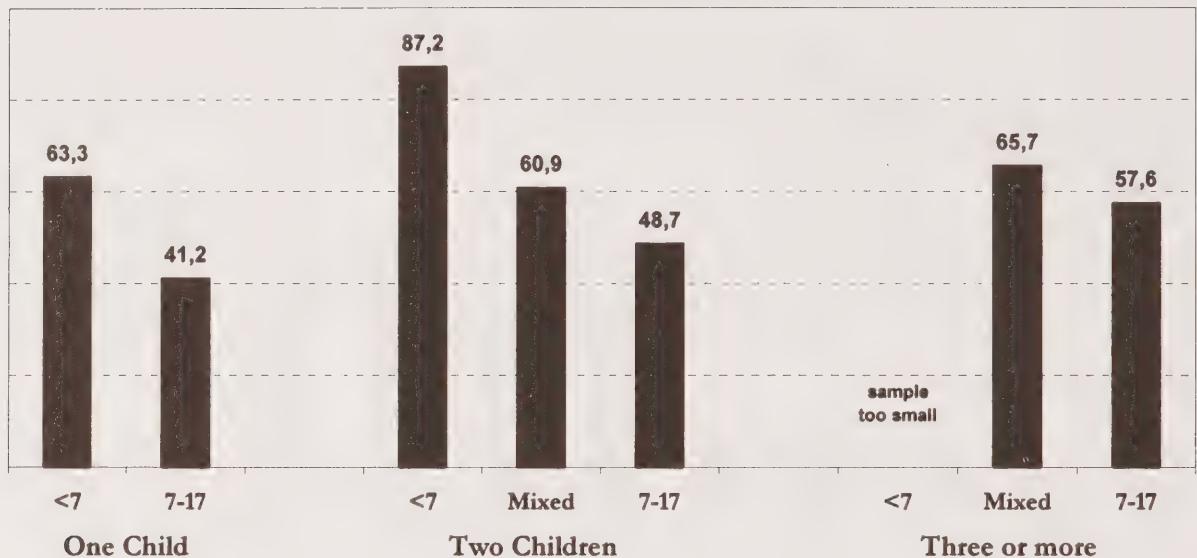


Figure 4.14: Poverty Rates for Single-Parent Mothers under 65, by Number and Age Group of Children Under 18, 1998



EDUCATION

The risk of poverty tends to decrease as people get more schooling. Figure 4.15 at the top of the next page shows that the poverty rates for unattached persons in 1998 fell more or less steadily from 55.1 percent for people who never went to high school at all to 20.7 percent for people with university degrees. The poverty rates were somewhat flatter for heads of families, but the highest rate was 20.7 percent for heads of families with less than eight years of education while the lowest rate was 5.1 percent for those with university degrees.

Figure 4.16 shows the poverty rates by family type, with the highest rates at the left of the graph. The darkly shaded bars are poverty rates for family heads or unattached individuals who did not graduate from high school. The lighter bars are poverty rates for family heads or unattached individuals with a high school diploma or more.

The patterns are similar to the patterns by family type shown at the beginning of this chapter. For both high school graduates and non-graduates, single-parent mothers and unattached individuals have higher poverty rates than couples. The poverty rate for families led by single-parent mothers with less than a high school education was 74.7 percent, the highest rate among all those who did not graduate from high school. Single-parent mothers who did graduate had a poverty rate of 48.4 percent - again the highest of any family type, but much lower than the rate for single-parent mothers without high school diplomas. This shows that family type and level of education both influence a person's risk of poverty.

Unlike every other family type, the poverty rates for couples 65 and older were virtually the same for family heads with or without a high school education.

Poor education can be either a cause of poverty or an effect. Young people who drop out of school may be poor because they lack the skills needed to get good jobs. On the other hand, young women who drop out of school if they get pregnant may be poor because of the hardships associated with single parenthood. The fact that they are poorly educated is a result of their family circumstances rather than an immediate cause of poverty.

Education has become much more important as a requirement for many jobs in recent decades. It is not surprising to find a marked difference in the poverty statistics by level of education when they are broken down into people under 65 and people 65 and older.

Figures 4.17 and 4.18 show the distribution of poor families and unattached people by level of education in 1998. The black slices of each pie represent heads of poor families and poor unattached persons who never went to high school at all. The white slices represent people who continued their formal education beyond high school.

Figure 4.15: Poverty Rates by Highest Level of Education Completed, 1998

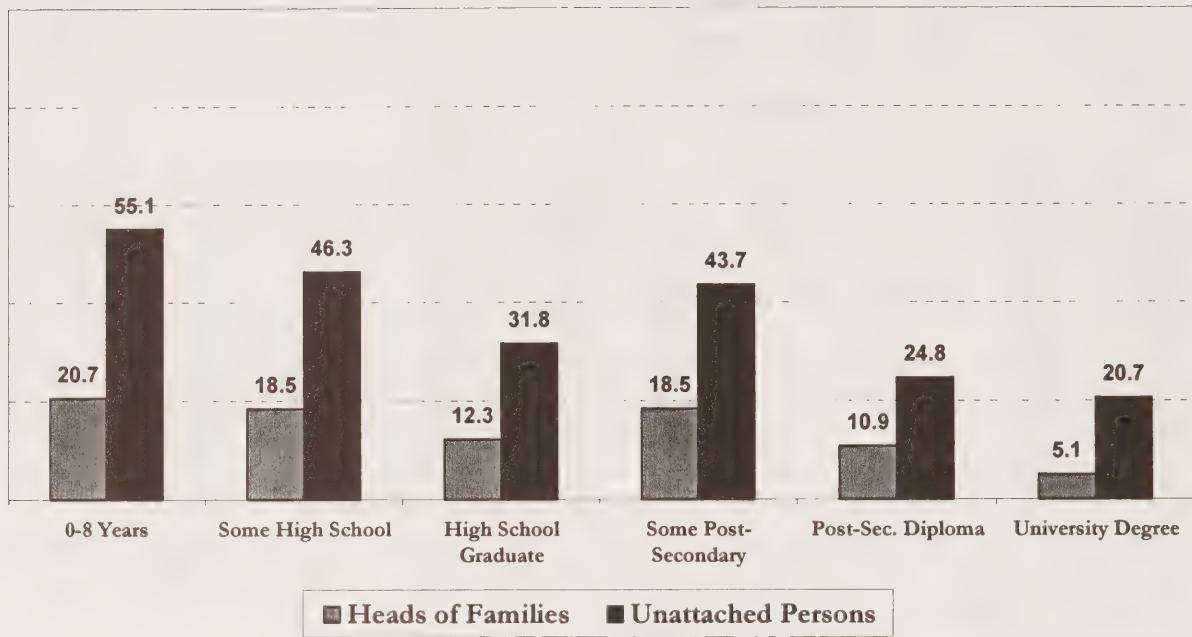


Figure 4.16: Poverty Rates by Family Type and Level of Education, 1998

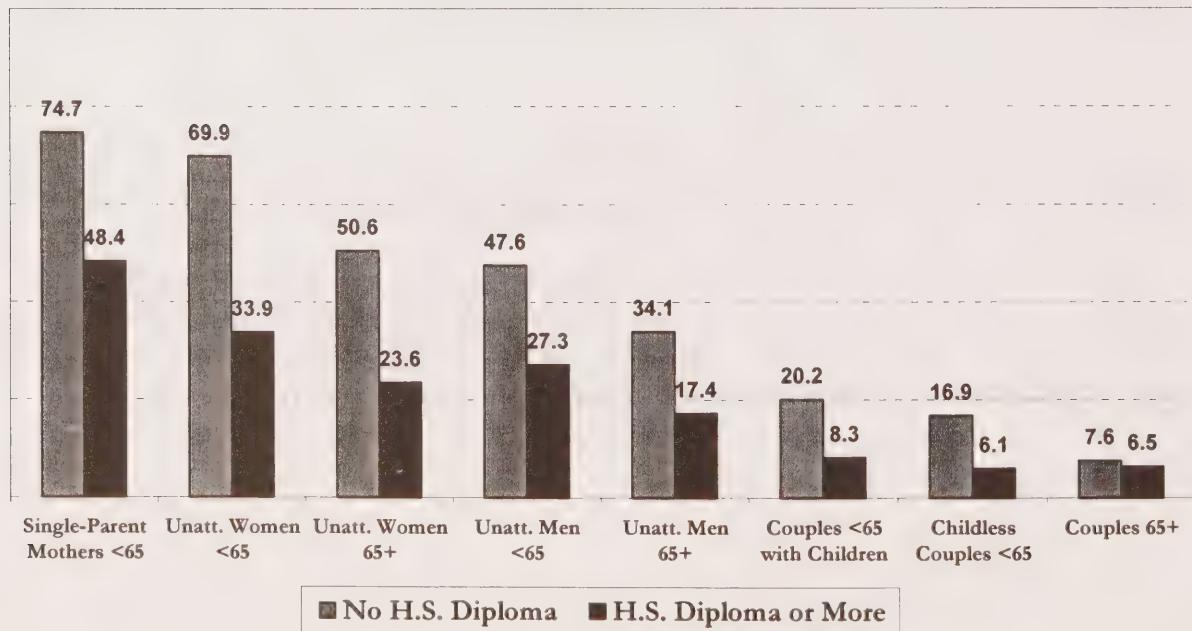
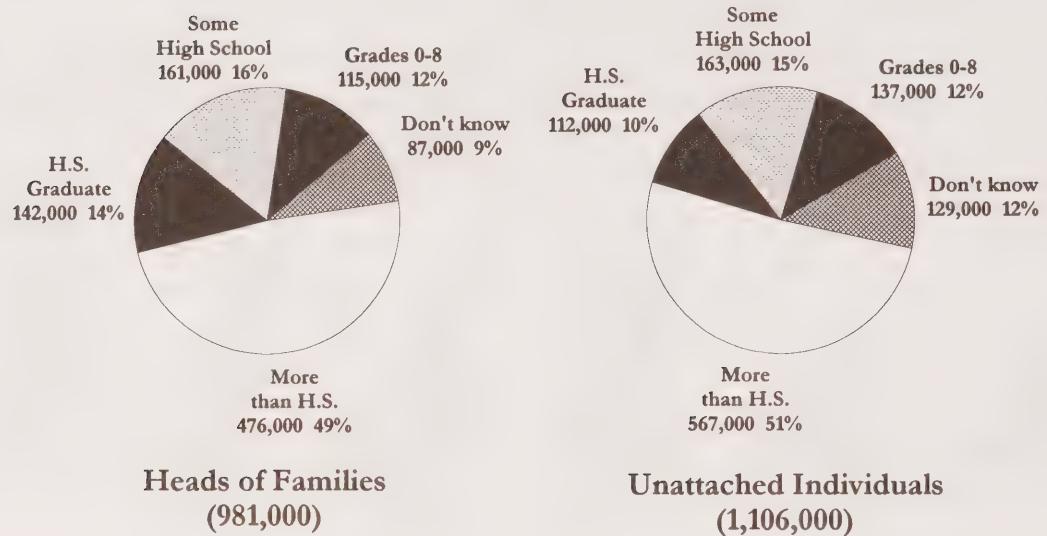


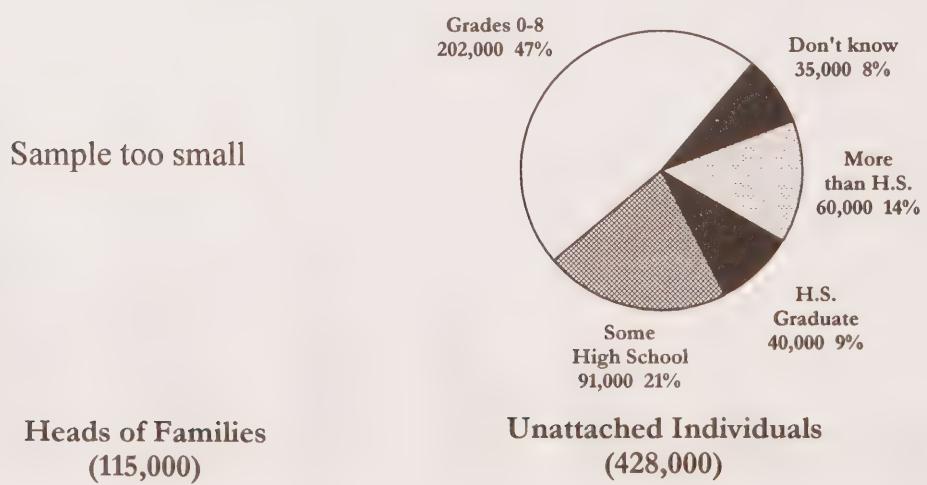
Figure 4.17 shows that relatively few poor family heads and unattached persons under 65 had less than a high school education. Most of the poor people under 65 had high school or more. In fact, 49 percent of all poor family heads under 65 and 51 percent of the poor unattached under 65 had actually gone beyond high school. Poor people are obviously not all uneducated. Poverty may be more a result of a lack of job opportunities than a lack of education.

The picture is entirely different for the elderly poor, as shown in Figure 4.18. A huge proportion of poor unattached individuals 65 and older never got as far as high school, and relatively few continued beyond high school. These patterns will likely change as the more educated baby boomers born after 1945 start to join the ranks of seniors in the 21st century.

**Figure 4.17: Distribution of Poor Under 65
by Level of Education, 1998**



**Figure 4.18: Distribution of Poor 65 and Older
by Level of Education, 1998**

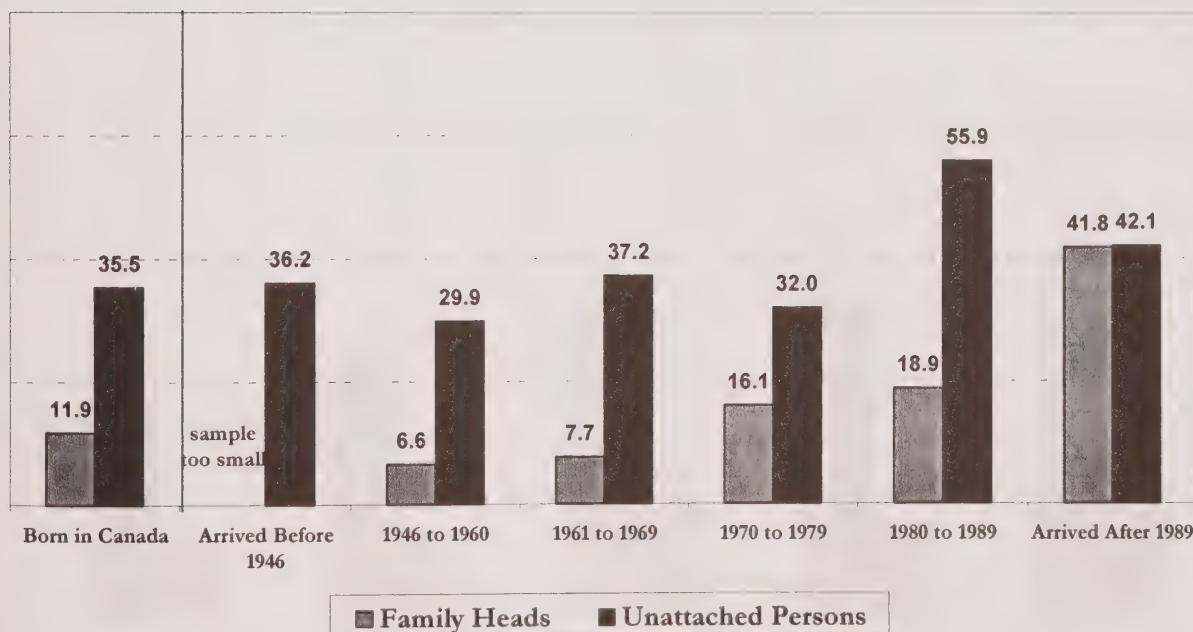


YEAR OF IMMIGRATION

Poverty rates are normally lower for unattached individuals and families headed by people born in Canada than for comparable groups of immigrants. In 1998, the poverty rate for heads of families born in Canada was 11.9 percent, and the rate for heads of families born elsewhere was 16.7 percent. There was less difference in the poverty rates for unattached individuals. The poverty rate for unattached individuals born in Canada was 35.5 percent, and the rate for all unattached individuals who immigrated to Canada was 36.9 percent.

As shown in Figure 4.19, poverty rates were relatively low for families with heads who immigrated to Canada prior to 1980 and relatively high for heads of families who immigrated in recent years, especially for the most recent immigrants. Among unattached individuals, poverty rates were lowest among people who immigrated between 1946 and 1960 and highest among those who arrived between 1980 and 1989.

**Figure 4.19: Poverty Rates for Immigrants
by Period of Immigration, 1998**



AREA OF RESIDENCE

Figures 4.20 and 4.21 show poverty among families and unattached people by the size of their communities. Each of the five categories in the graph corresponds to a set of poverty lines based on community size.

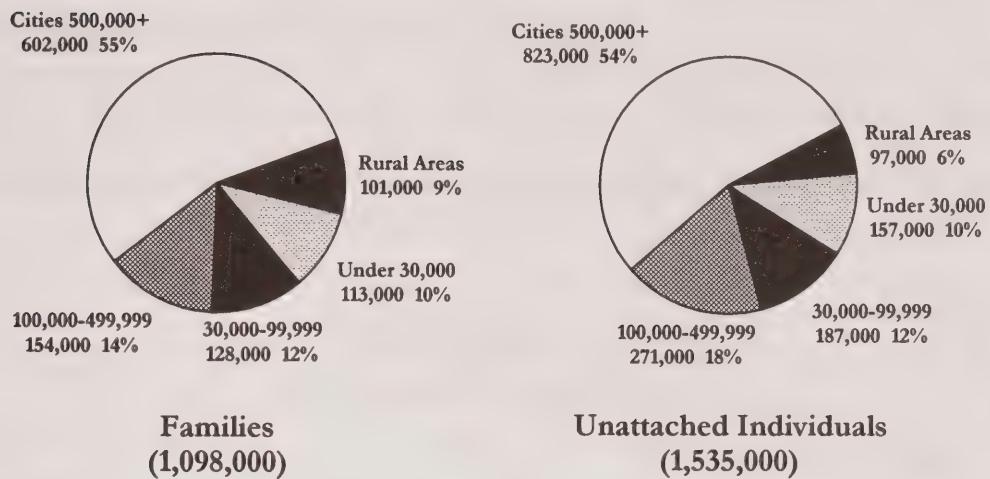
Figure 4.20 shows that poverty rates are higher in large cities than in small towns and rural areas. Figure 4.21 shows the distribution of poor families and unattached individuals by community size. In 1998, 602,000 poor families or 55 percent of all poor families and 823,000 unattached individuals or 54 percent of all poor unattached people lived in cities of half a million people or more.

The percentage of poor people living in the biggest cities is disproportionately high, because 47 percent of all families and 50 percent of all unattached individuals lived in cities of half a million or more in 1998.

Figure 4.20: Poverty Rates by Size of Area of Residence, 1998



Figure 4.21: Distribution of Poor Families and Unattached Individuals, 1998



V. DEPTH OF POVERTY AND THE POVERTY GAP

It is one thing to measure the risk of poverty and another to measure its severity. Poverty rates show the percentage of the population that is poor each year, but they do not show whether poor people are living in abject poverty or a few dollars below the poverty line. For that, we need measures of the “depth of poverty.” Depth of poverty statistics also allow us to calculate the “poverty gap” to show how much additional income would be needed to bring all Canadians out of poverty.

**Figure 5.1: Depth of Poverty
by Family Type, 1998**

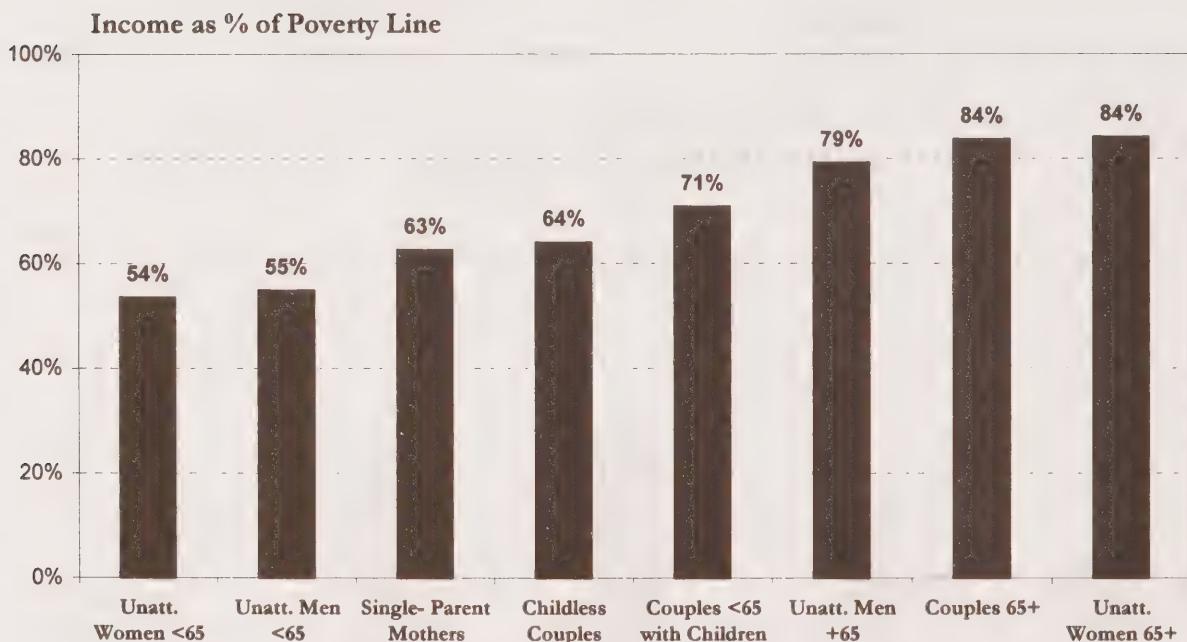


Figure 5.1 shows the average incomes of poor Canadians as a percentage of the poverty line for the eight family types that were highlighted in previous chapters. The groups are arranged with the poorest at the left of the graph and the least poor at the right. Unattached individuals under 65 were the poorest of the eight family types in 1998, with total incomes that were only 54 percent of the poverty line on average for women and 55 percent on average for men. Poor elderly couples and poor unattached women 65 and older were at the other end, with average incomes of 84 percent of the poverty line.

Depth of poverty can also be expressed in dollars as the difference between the poverty line and the average income of poor families or unattached individuals. Table 5.1 shows the average depth of poverty by family type for 1980, 1997 and 1998, with all the figures in 1998 constant dollars to factor out the effects of inflation over the years.

**TABLE 5.1: AVERAGE DEPTH OF POVERTY BY FAMILY TYPE
IN CONSTANT 1998 DOLLARS**

Family Type	Dollars Below Poverty Line in 1980	Dollars Below Poverty Line in 1997	Dollars Below Poverty Line in 1998
Single-Parent Mothers under 65 with Children under 18	\$10,549	\$9,458	\$9,230
Couples under 65 with Children under 18	\$8,692	\$8,925	\$8,772
Unattached Women under 65	\$7,664	\$7,100	\$7,038
Unattached Men under 65	\$7,347	\$7,055	\$6,803
Childless Couples under 65	\$7,030	\$7,097	\$7,170
Unattached Men 65 and Older	\$4,312	\$3,012	\$3,280
Unattached Women 65 and Older	\$4,150	\$2,528	\$2,475
Couples 65 and Older	\$3,532	\$3,183	\$3,488

Single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 had the largest depth of poverty in all three years in terms of dollars below the poverty line. Their situation improved marginally in 1998, but they remained \$9,230 on average below the poverty line. Poor couples under 65 with children under 18 saw their situation deteriorate between 1980 and 1998. These couples were at \$8,692 below the poverty line in 1980, \$8,925 below in 1997 and \$8,772 below in 1998.

Unattached women and men under 65 came next. They were worst off when depth of poverty was expressed as a percentage of the poverty line, but had a different ranking when the measure was dollars below the poverty line. The explanation for this apparent inconsistency is that the poverty lines are higher for families than they are for unattached people. A family of four living in a large city at half the 1998 poverty line of \$32,706 would have been \$16,353 below the line, while a single person at half the poverty line of \$16,486 would have been \$8,243 below the line.

Poor couples under 65 without children were \$7,170 below the poverty line on average in 1998, an increase of \$140 since 1980.

Poor unattached women and men 65 and older have seen their depth of poverty decrease over the 18-year period. In 1996, 1997 and 1998, the gap for unattached elderly men increased each year, but still remains \$1,032 below the figure for 1980.

The pattern has been more erratic for poor senior couples with their depth of poverty moving up and down over the years. Similar to elderly unattached men, the poverty gap for poor senior couples has increased between 1996 and 1998. Unlike elderly unattached men, the depth of poverty for poor senior couples in 1998 was almost the same as it was 18 years ago, only \$44 lower than in 1980.

Using the average depth of poverty in dollars for different family types and the number of families or unattached individuals in each group, it is possible to calculate Canada's total poverty gap. Canada's total poverty gap is the amount of additional income that would be required to bring all Canadians above the poverty line in any given year.

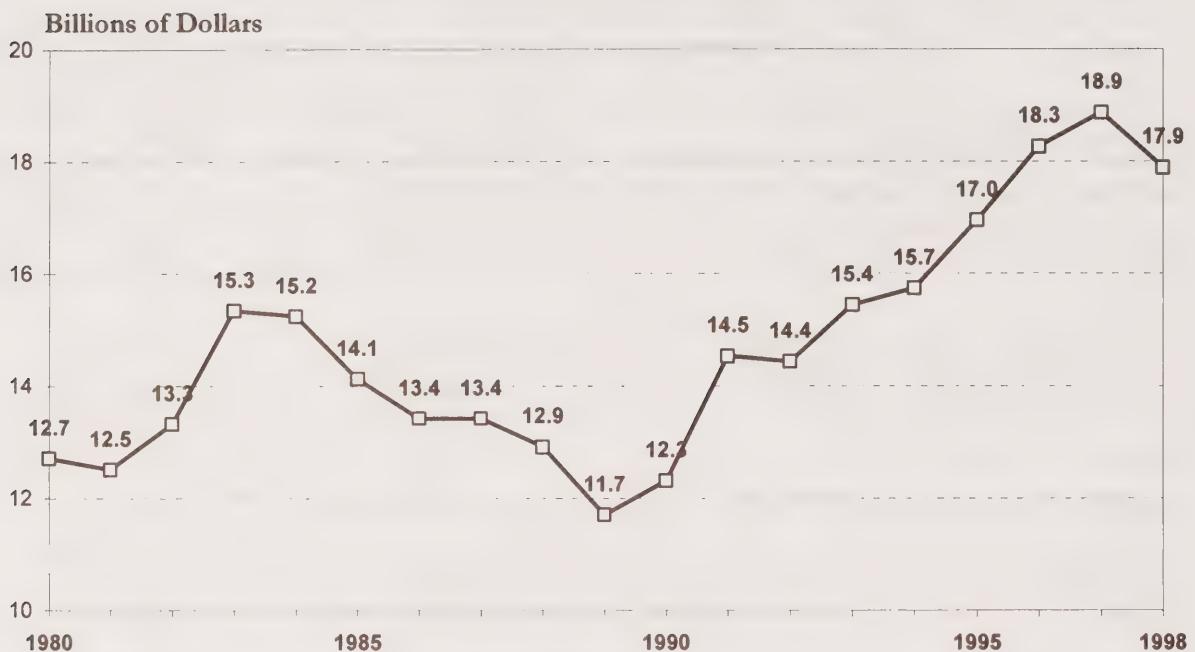
The poverty gap in 1998 was \$17.9 billion, as shown in Table 5.2. Four family types accounted for more than three-quarters of the gap: unattached men and women under 65, couples under 65 with children under 18, and single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. The ranking of these four groups changes from year to year, but no other family types come close to the size of their poverty gaps.

TABLE 5.2: TOTAL POVERTY GAP BY FAMILY TYPE, 1998

	Poverty Gap	% of Total Gap
Unattached Men under 65	\$3,834,000,000	21.4%
Unattached Women under 65	\$3,819,000,000	21.4%
Single-Parent Mothers under 65 with Children under 18	\$2,899,000,000	16.2%
Couples under 65 with Children under 18	\$2,797,000,000	15.6%
Couples under 65 without Children	\$1,146,000,000	6.4%
Unattached Women 65 and Older	\$831,000,000	4.6%
Unattached Men 65 and Older	\$307,000,000	1.7%
Couples 65 and Older	\$237,000,000	1.3%
Others	\$2,015,000,000	11.3%
Total Poverty Gap	\$17,885,000,000	100.0%

Canada's poverty gap rose and fell in recent years in much the same way that poverty rates rose and fell, as shown in Figure 5.2. All the dollar figures have been expressed in constant 1998 dollars to show the trends with the effects of inflation removed. The gap was \$12.7 billion in 1980. It rose to \$15.3 billion in 1983 in the wake of the recession, and it fell for most of the rest of the decade. With the start of another recession in 1990, the gap rose once again and continued steeply upward to a high of \$18.9 billion in 1997. The gap fell by \$1 billion in 1998, dropping to \$17.9 billion.

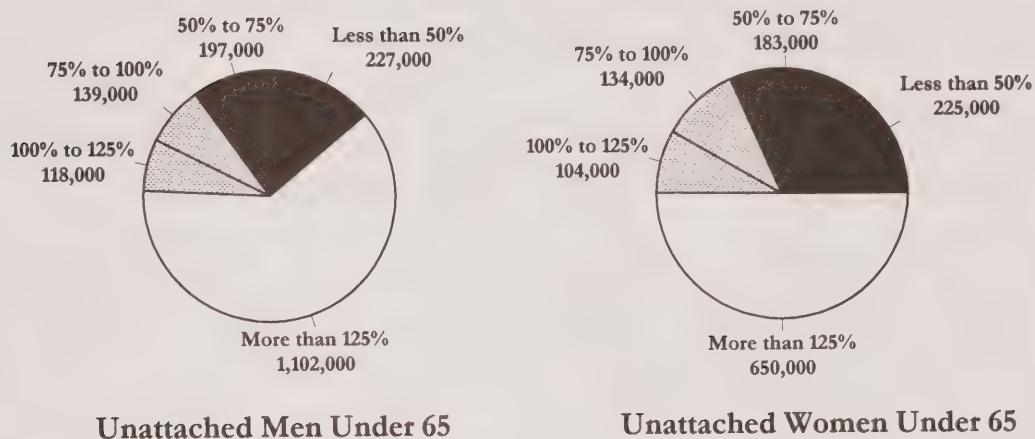
**Figure 5.2: Canada's Total Poverty Gap
in Constant 1998 Dollars**



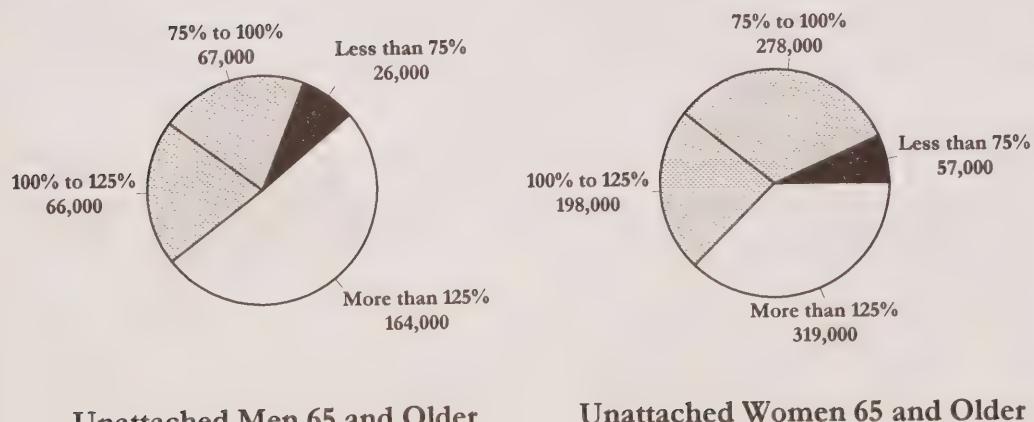
A third way of looking at depth of poverty is to group families and unattached individuals into income categories based on percentages of the poverty lines, as in Figures 5.3 to 5.6. Each family type is represented by a pie, and the slices of the pies represent people in five income categories: less than 50 percent of the poverty line, 50 to 75 percent of the line, 75 to 100 percent of the line, 100 to 125 percent of the line, and more than 125 percent of the line.

The income distributions for unattached men and women under 65 are shown in Figure 5.3. Relatively large numbers of people were well below the poverty line in 1998. The poorest of the poor were the 227,000 poor unattached men under 65 and the 225,000 poor unattached women under 65 with incomes of less than 50 percent of the poverty line. They would have needed to more than double their incomes to escape from poverty.

**Figure 5.3: Income Distributions in 1998
as Percentages of Poverty Line for
Unattached Individuals Under 65**



**Figure 5.4: Income Distributions in 1998
as Percentages of Poverty Line for
Unattached Individuals 65 and Older**



The income distributions were markedly different for the unattached men and women 65 and older as shown in Figure 5.4. The category less than 50 percent of the poverty line was so small that it had to be combined with the category 50 to 75 percent of the poverty line to be statistically valid. Over 600,000 unattached seniors fell into the two categories shown in light grey which represent 75 to 100 percent of the poverty line and 100 to 125 percent of the line. With this kind of income distribution, poverty rates could fall or rise noticeably if unattached seniors saw their incomes go up or down by even a few dollars a week - or if Statistics Canada changed its methodology to raise or lower the poverty lines even a few dollars.

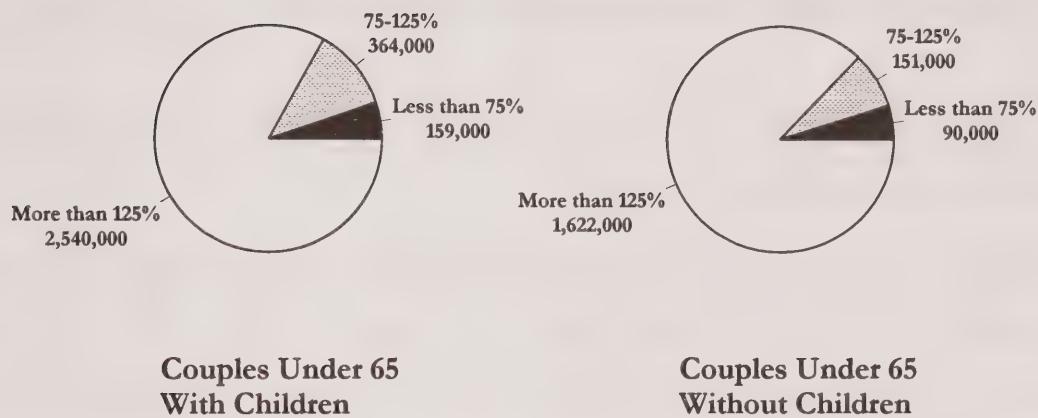
Just to get an idea of the impact of modest increases or decreases in income for unattached individuals of all ages, the National Council of Welfare recalculated the 1998 poverty statistics according to hypothetical best-case and worst-case scenarios.

In the best-case scenario, we assumed that all the poor unattached people with incomes between 75 and 100 percent of the poverty line - one of the light grey slices of each pie - got enough additional income in 1998 to put them over the poverty line. The number of poor unattached individuals would have dropped from 1,536,000 to 916,000 under this scenario, and the poverty rate would have fallen from 36.1 percent to 21.5 percent.

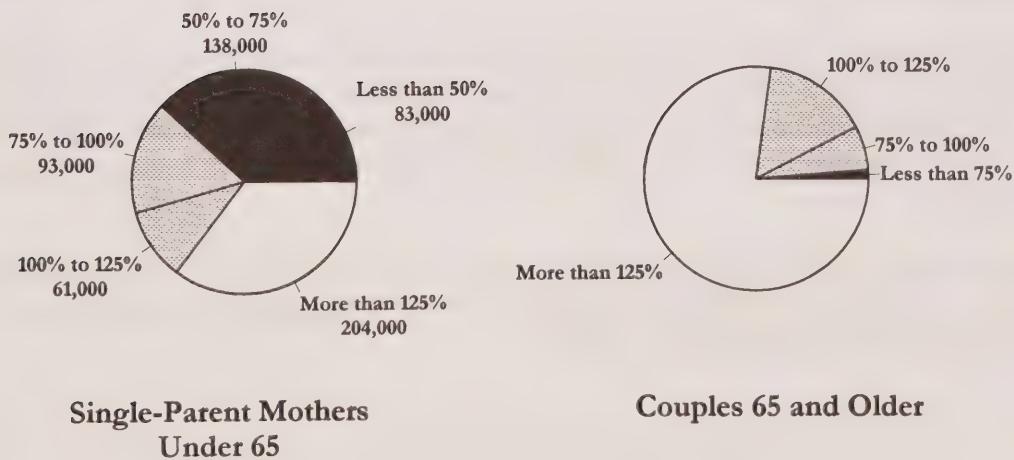
In the worst-case scenario, we assumed that all "near poor" unattached persons with incomes of 100 to 125 percent of the poverty line - the other light grey slice of each pie - lost enough income in 1998 to fall into poverty. The number of poor unattached individuals would have risen from 1,536,000 to 2,022,000 under this scenario, and the poverty rate would have shot up from 36.1 percent to 47.5 percent.

Figures 5.5 to 5.6 present the same kind of income distributions for families. The three pies for couples under 65 with children under 18, couples under 65 without children, and couples 65 and older are similar. The vast majority of families had incomes of more than 125 percent of the poverty line. The light grey slices representing incomes of 75 to 100 percent of the poverty line and 100 to 125 percent of the line are relatively small - so small that the categories had to be combined in two of the pies to be identified clearly. Two other categories - under 50 percent of the poverty line and 50 to 75 percent of the line - were even smaller and also had to be combined.

**Figure 5.5: Income Distributions in 1998
as Percentages of Poverty Line for Couples Under 65**



**Figure 5.6: Income Distributions in 1998
as Percentages of Poverty Line for
Single-Parent Mothers and Couples 65 and Older**



The one family type that was the exception to the overall pattern for families was single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. That particular pie shows relatively few single-parent mothers with incomes of 125 percent or more of the poverty line compared to the other three family types. It also shows 83,000 single-parent mothers with incomes of less than half the poverty line and 138,000 mothers at 50 to 75 percent of the poverty line.

Under a hypothetical best-case scenario, all families at 75 to 100 percent of the poverty line would get additional income and move out of poverty. The number of poor families would drop from 1,099,000 to 622,000 in 1998 and the poverty rate would fall from 13.2 percent to 7.5 percent.

Under a worst-case scenario, families at 100 to 125 percent of the poverty line would fall into poverty. The number of poor families would rise from 1,099,000 to 1,699,000, and the poverty rate would go up from 13.2 percent to 20.5 percent.

The National Council of Welfare has long been alarmed about the number of people who were living at less than half the poverty line, and we were dismayed to see the numbers go up in the years following the 1990-1991 recession despite the continuing overall improvements in the economy. In 1998 we saw some improvements for couples. The number of single-parent mothers and unattached individuals under 65 living in extreme poverty, however, continues to be abominably high.

There has been a sharp increase in the ranks of the poorest of the poor since 1989 as governments at all levels cut back services and income supports to poor people. Cuts in welfare by provincial and territorial governments and cuts in employment insurance by the federal government probably go a long way to explaining the appalling situation.

Figures 5.7 to 5.10 highlight the increase in abject poverty from 1989 through 1998. There were a total of 83,000 single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 living at less than 50 percent of the poverty line in 1998. That was the second highest number recorded since 1989, the year before the start of the 1990-1991 recession. There were 36,000 more families living in extreme poverty in 1998 than in 1989.

Like single-parent mothers, the number of unattached individuals with incomes less than 50 percent of the poverty line presents a bleak picture. There was a small decrease in 1998, but the number of extremely poor unattached people in 1998 was very high at 452,000. This is close to double the low observed in 1990 of 246,000 unattached individuals living at less than 50 percent of the poverty line.

In the case of couples under 65 with children under 18 and couples under 65 without children, the figures on the poorest of the poor decreased in 1998. The numbers of these very poor families dropped close to levels last seen in 1990-1991.

Adding in miscellaneous family types and a few thousand very poor seniors produces a grand total for 1998 of 233,000 families and 463,000 unattached individuals living at less than half the poverty line.

These figures provide the definitive rebuttal to people who believe that poverty is not a problem in Canada. People who live at less than half the poverty line are poor by any reasonable standard. It is tragic to think of so many people living in abject poverty, and it is appalling to see the figures remain at high levels as the economy continues to improve. The National Council of Welfare believes this is a problem of the highest magnitude that cries out for an immediate response from governments.

Figure 5.7: Single-Parent Mothers under 50% of Poverty Line

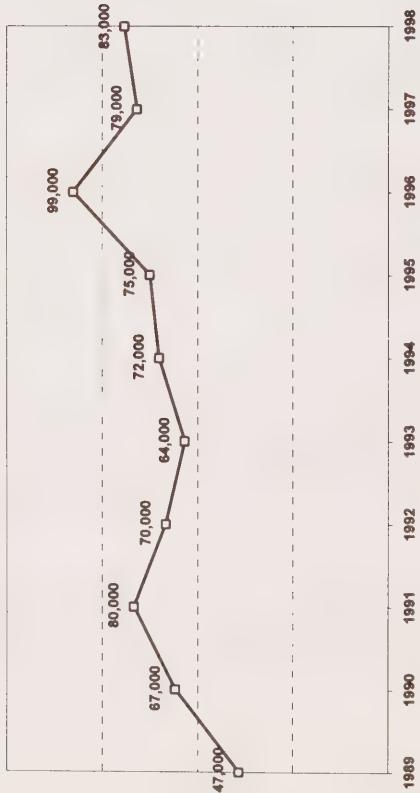


Figure 5.9: Couples under 65 with Children Under 50% of Poverty Line

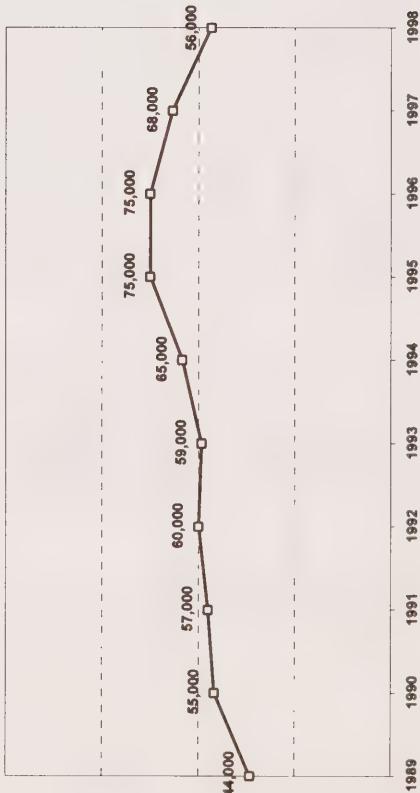


Figure 5.8: Childless Couples under 65 Under 50% of Poverty Line

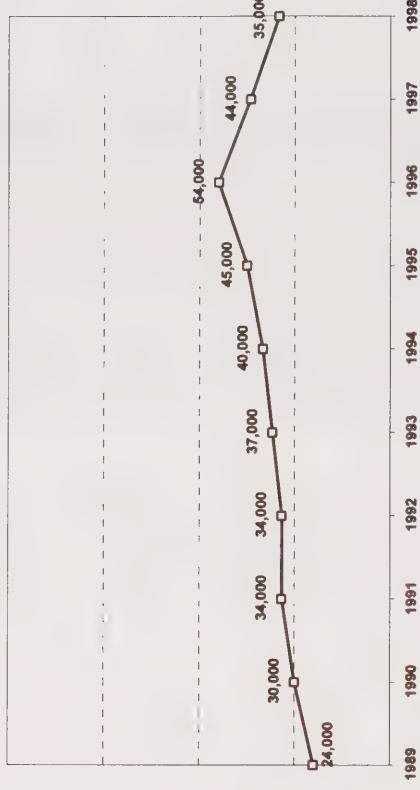
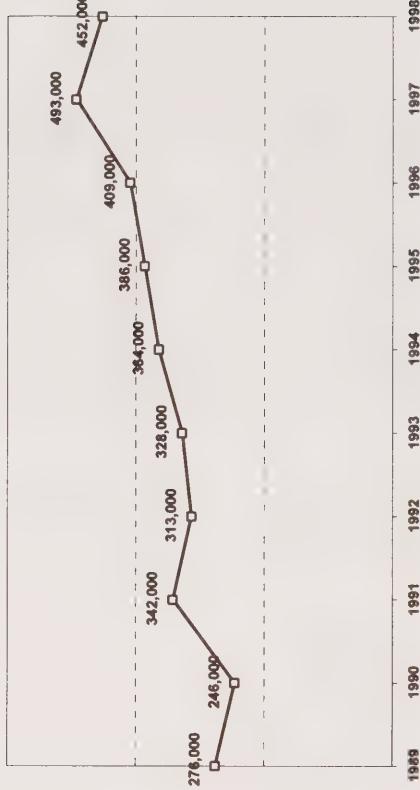


Figure 5.10: Unattached Persons under 65 Under 50% of Poverty Line



VI. POOR CANADIANS AND THEIR SOURCES OF INCOME

One measure of the financial plight of poor people is how far they live below the poverty line. Another is how their incomes compare to average incomes. Table 6.1 shows the average income of poor Canadians by family type in 1998, the average income of all Canadians by family type, and the relationship between the two. For example, unattached men under 65 who were poor had a total income of \$8,231 on average in 1998. The income of all unattached men under 65, both poor and non-poor, was \$29,695 on average. The average income of the poor amounted to 28 percent of the average income of all unattached men under 65.

TABLE 6.1: INCOMES OF THE POOR COMPARED TO AVERAGE INCOMES, 1998

Family Type	Average Income of Poor	Average Income of All	Income of Poor as Percentage of All
Unattached Women under 65	\$8,048	\$23,892	34%
Unattached Men under 65	\$8,231	\$29,695	28%
Childless Couples under 65	\$12,173	\$63,961	19%
Unattached Men 65 and Older	\$12,237	\$26,471	46%
Unattached Women 65 and Older	\$12,773	\$20,372	63%
Single-Parent Mothers under 65 with Children under 18	\$15,145	\$27,195	56%
Couples 65 and Older	\$17,861	\$41,683	43%
Couples under 65 with Children under 18	\$21,218	\$70,043	30%

The differences between the average incomes of the poor and all Canadians are striking. Poor couples under 65 with children under 18 had an average family income of \$21,218 in 1998, for example, while the average income of all couples with children under 18 was \$70,043 or more than three times as large.

The differences were much less in the cases of unattached seniors and single-parent mothers, because average incomes were much less. The average income for poor single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 was \$15,145 in 1998, but the average income of all single-parent mothers was only \$27,195 - much less than the average income of \$70,043 for all couples with children.

The incomes of poor people last peaked earlier in the decade, and the overall trend has been slightly downward ever since. Between 1997 and 1998, the average incomes of senior couples and childless couples dropped just over \$500 when measured in constant dollars. Average incomes dropped slightly for poor unattached women under 65 and unattached men 65 and older. The incomes of poor single-parent mothers under 65 had the largest increase from an average of \$14,665 in 1997 to \$15,145 in 1998. Incomes were up slightly for the three remaining family types.

Obviously, many poor Canadians rely on government programs of one kind or another to help make ends meet. In some cases, the amounts provided by governments are surprisingly modest, and the amounts provided by earnings and non-government sources of income are substantial. In other cases, especially in the case of poor seniors, governments provide a very large portion of total income.

Table 6.2 shows the average amount of "transfer payments" received by poor families and unattached individuals in 1998. Transfer payments include Employment Insurance, Old Age Security, Canada and Quebec Pension Plans, Guaranteed Income Supplements, Spouse's Allowance, Child Tax Benefit, other child credits or allowances, welfare from provincial and municipal programs, workers' compensation benefits, GST/HST credits, provincial and territorial tax credits and any other government transfers. The Canada and Quebec Pension Plans and Employment Insurance are government-run programs, but the money comes from contributions by workers and employers, not from government.

The family types in the table are ranked according to the average size of transfer payments, with the smallest amounts first. The second column gives the average incomes of poor families and unattached individuals from all sources - the same figures as in Table 6.1. The third column gives the percentage of total income from transfers.

Government programs of one kind or another provided half of total income or less for the first four family types, 67 percent of total income for single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18, and 91 to 96 percent of total income for the three family types 65 or older.

TABLE 6.2: TRANSFER PAYMENTS TO THE POOR BY FAMILY TYPE, 1998

Family Type	Average Transfer Payment	Average Income from All Sources	Transfers as Percentage of Total Income
Unattached Women under 65	\$3,690	\$8,048	46%
Unattached Men under 65	\$3,911	\$8,231	48%
Childless Couples under 65	\$6,090	\$12,173	50%
Couples under 65 with Children under 18	\$9,914	\$21,218	47%
Single-Parent Mothers under 65 with Children under 18	\$10,079	\$15,145	67%
Unattached Men 65 and Older	\$11,802	\$12,237	96%
Unattached Women 65 and Older	\$11,667	\$12,773	91%
Couples 65 and Older	\$16,272	\$17,861	91%

SENIOR COUPLES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS

One reason that poverty rates for seniors have plummeted over the years has been the variety of government programs for seniors. Table 6.3 provides a closer look at these and other common sources of income for poor senior couples and poor unattached men and women 65 and older. For each family type, there are two columns. The first column indicates the percentage of poor families or unattached individuals with income from a particular source. The second column gives the average amount received by recipients only. Poor people who did not receive a particular type of income were not included in calculating the average amount of that type of payment.

Almost all poor seniors got a sizable portion of their total incomes from the federal government's Old Age Security pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement. The reason that less than 100 percent of seniors received income from these two programs is probably because some poor seniors were recent immigrants to Canada who did not meet the residence requirements of the programs. The maximum Old Age Security pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement for senior couples in 1998 was \$17,392 and the maximum for an unattached senior was \$10,727.

The second most important source of income was the Canada or Quebec Pension Plans. CPP or QPP benefits were received by 73 percent of poor unattached senior women and by 78 percent of poor senior couples and 78 percent of poor unattached senior men. The maximum retirement benefit under the two plans was \$8,937 in 1998, and the maximum survivor pension for a person

65 and older was \$5,362. The maximums relate to career earnings above the average wage. People who had lower earnings during their careers get lower benefits.

Some poor seniors had income from investments in 1998, but the average amounts were modest.

The category “provincial supplements” refers to the supplements for low-income seniors given by some provincial governments. It also includes some welfare benefits for seniors in provinces that do not have supplements. The amounts provided by these programs vary greatly from province to province, and the amounts received were modest on average.

Less than a quarter of poor seniors had income from occupational pension plans. Poor coverage has been a long-term problem of occupational pension plans, and Table 6.3 shows how little retirement income the plans provided to people who retired at the low end of the income scale.

TABLE 6.3: SOURCES OF INCOME FOR POOR SENIORS, 1998

	Poor Couples 65 and Older (68,000)		Poor Unattached Men 65 and Older (94,000)		Poor Unattached Women 65 and Older (336,000)	
	Percent Who Received	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Received	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Received	Average Amount to Recipient
Old Age Pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement	93%	\$11,863	98%	\$8,143	100%	\$8,511
Canada and Quebec Pension Plans	78%	\$5,401	78%	\$3,802	73%	\$3,378
Investments and Savings	51%	\$2,096	31%	\$365	46%	\$1,464
Provincial Supplements	sample too small		30%	\$1,175	27%	\$780
Occupational Pension Plans and RRSPs *	22%	\$2,022	18%	\$2,049	18%	\$1,999
Income from All Sources	100%	\$17,861	100%	\$12,237	100%	\$12,773

* Includes retirement pensions, superannuation, annuities, RRSP annuities received and RRIF withdrawals, RRSP withdrawals. Previous editions of *Poverty Profile* reported RRSPs separately.

FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65

A different picture emerges when we look at sources of income for poor people under 65. Earned income is often the major source of income, although welfare and employment insurance benefits are also important. Details are provided in Table 6.4.

In 1998, more than half of families listed in Table 6.4, regardless of family type, received earnings. Earnings were reported by 59 percent of poor unattached men and by 54 per cent of poor unattached women. Fifty-six percent of poor single-parent mothers reported earnings. The percent of couples that reported earnings was higher at 61 percent of poor childless couples and 80 percent of poor couples under 65 with children under 18.

The only other sources of income that were received by a higher percentage of families than earnings were the Child Tax Benefit for couples with children, and welfare and the Child Tax Benefit for single-parent mothers.

The average amounts of earnings were noteworthy in all cases. The average of \$7,486 earned by poor single-parent mothers, for example, was equivalent to 31 weeks of work for 40 hours a week at a rate of \$6 an hour or 16 weeks of full-time work at \$12 an hour.

The percentage of poor people under 65 with income from earnings has slumped in recent years. Only the percentages for childless couples and single-parent mothers were close to the pre-recession figures for 1989 or 1990.

A sizeable portion of each of the five family types received welfare during 1998. Welfare payments were reported by 40 percent of poor unattached men under 65 and 38 percent of the poor unattached women under 65. Slightly smaller percentages of couples received welfare. Thirty-three percent of poor childless couples under 65 and 35 percent of the poor couples under 65 with children under 18 received welfare in 1998. A substantially higher proportion of poor single-parent mothers, 69 percent, received welfare.

TABLE 6.4: SOURCES OF INCOME FOR POOR FAMILIES AND POOR UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65, 1998

Source of Income	Unattached Men (561,000)			Unattached Women (540,000)			Couples without Children (160,000)			Couples with Children (319,000)			Single-Parent Mothers (314,000)	
	Percent Who Receive	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Receive	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Receive	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Receive	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Receive	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Receive	Average Amount to Recipient	Percent Who Receive	Average Amount to Recipient
Earnings	59%	\$6,679	54%	\$7,152	61%	\$7,437	80%	\$12,988	56%	\$7,486	56%	\$7,486	56%	
Welfare	40%	\$5,504	38%	\$6,072	33%	\$8,701	35%	\$9,689	69%	\$7,917	69%	\$7,917	69%	
Employment Insurance	14%	\$4,726	11%	\$2,773	15%	\$4,600	23%	\$4,394	12%	\$3,256	12%	\$3,256	12%	
Investments	9%	\$1,958	15%	\$875	27%	\$1,504	24%	\$941	7%	\$82	7%	\$82	7%	
Child Tax Benefit	0%	\$0	0%	\$0	0%	\$0	100%	\$4,190	100%	\$3,356	100%	\$3,356	100%	
Canada & Quebec Pension Plans	10%	\$5,248	14%	\$4,271	24%	\$6,653	4%	\$5,125	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	
Occupational Pension Plans and RRSPs *	3%	\$3,353	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	7%	\$4,993	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	
Workers' Compensation	5%	\$4,029	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	Sample size too small	100%	\$21,218	100.0%	\$15,145	100.0%	
Income from All Sources	100%	\$8,231	100%	\$8,048	100%	\$12,173	100	\$21,218	100	\$21,218	100	\$21,218	100	

* Includes retirement pensions, superannuation, annuities, RRSP annuities received and RRIF withdrawals. Previous editions of Poverty Profile reported RRSPs separately.

Calculations by the National Council of Welfare for 1998 show that unattached people could have received provincial welfare and related benefits ranging between \$1,124 and \$6,623 a year, single parents with one child between \$9,184 and \$11,659, and couples with two children \$11,332 to \$14,953.⁵

Employment insurance benefits were reported in 1998 by 14 percent of the poor unattached men under 65 and by 11 percent of the poor unattached women under 65. For couples, 15 percent of the poor childless couples under 65 and 23 percent of the poor couples under 65 with children under 18 received income from employment insurance. Twelve percent of the poor single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 received income from employment insurance in 1998.

In 1998, employment insurance replaced 70 percent of insurable earnings for beneficiaries with children and low earnings. The replacement rate was 55 percent of insurable earnings for other workers.

Between seven and 27 percent of poor families and unattached individuals under 65 had income from investments. The amounts received were modest, ranging from a low of \$82 on average for single-parent mothers to a high of \$1,958 on average for unattached men less than 65.

The federal Child Tax Benefit was introduced in 1993 to replace Family Allowances, the refundable Child Tax Credit and the non-refundable credit for families with children under 18 who pay federal income tax. As of July 1, 1998, the Child Tax Benefit was replaced by the Canada Child Tax Benefit. In 1998, for example, a single-parent with one child under seven received a maximum of \$1,536 through this program and a two-parent family with two children aged ten and 15 received a maximum of \$2,545. The rates were somewhat different in Quebec and Alberta at the request of the two provincial governments.⁶

Canada and Quebec Pension Plan benefits were claimed by 10 percent of poor unattached men under 65, 14 percent of poor unattached women under 65, 24 percent of poor couples under 65 without children, and much smaller percentages of the two other family types. The Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics does not specify the type of benefit, but the recipients could have been people between 60 and 65 who took early retirement, widows or widowers who received survivor pensions from the plans, or people who got disability pensions. Similarly, people who got money from occupational pension plans could have received retirement, survivor or disability pensions.

⁵ Detailed calculations of welfare incomes and related benefits in each province and territory are available in the National Council of Welfare publication *Welfare Incomes 1998-1999*. The income ranges in the text are for provincial welfare and other provincial benefits only. They do not include welfare and related benefits in Yukon or the Northwest Territories, and they do not include federal government benefits.

⁶ Payments in Alberta varied with the age of the child, and payments in Quebec varied with the age of the child and the number of children in a family.

A very small percentage of poor families and unattached individuals received workers' compensation. As in the case of pensions, however, it was an important source of income to the people who received it.

Income received from child or spousal support was not available for 1998. Data for 1997 showed that support payments were an important source of income for poor single-parent mothers. Seventeen percent of these families received support payments in 1997, and the average amount received was \$4,167.

While the data in Table 6.4 are enlightening, they do not give a clear picture of typical combinations of income. Obviously, some poor people have only one main source of income and others have more than one.

The National Council of Welfare asked Statistics Canada to do special data tabulations to differentiate the poor families and unattached individuals in Table 6.4 according to their primary source or sources of income. Primary sources of income for people under 65 were assumed to be earnings, welfare and Employment Insurance (EI).

The result was a series of data runs based on different combinations of income: earnings alone, welfare alone, earnings and welfare together, and earnings and EI together. Other possible combinations, such as welfare and EI but not earnings, produced breakdowns too small to be used.

Figure 6.1 shows the distributions for poor couples under 65 with children under 18 in 1980 and 1998.⁷ The three slices of the pies that included earnings (that is, earnings only, earnings and welfare, and earnings and EI) added up to 84 percent in 1980 but only 76 percent in 1998. Meanwhile, the slices that represented welfare only grew from six percent in 1980 to 14 percent in 1998.

The pattern is just as pronounced in the pies for single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 shown in Figure 6.2. The earnings-related slices added up to 54 percent in 1980 and 51 percent in 1998. The welfare-only slices were 33 percent in 1980 and 38 percent in 1998.

Similar patterns appear in Figure 6.3 and Figure 6.4 for unattached individuals under 65 and couples under 65 without children. For the unattached persons, the earnings-related slices shrank from 65 percent to 54 percent and the welfare-only slices grew from 13 percent to 28 percent. For the childless couples, the earnings-related slices shrank from 65 percent to 59 percent and the welfare-only slices grew from 15 percent to 18 percent.

Information is also available on the amounts of income received by primary source of income. Table 6.5 gives the total incomes and amounts of different types of incomes in 1998 for couples under 65 with children under 18 and single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. The

⁷ The graphs for 1980 in this series and the next use revised weights.

table separates families with earnings as their primary source of income from families with earnings and employment insurance, earnings and welfare, or welfare only as their primary sources of income.

Both earnings and employment insurance are taxable income, but the amounts are so low that most of the poor families in the table would not have paid income taxes. Some of the couples with earnings or earnings plus EI might have paid a token amount of income tax, but the rest of the couples and most of the single-parent families likely paid no income tax at all.

The information in Table 6.5 relates directly to the concerns of the National Council of Welfare about the “clawback” of federal child benefits by provincial and territorial governments under the new Canada Child Tax Benefit. When the new system came into effect on July 1, 1998, only Newfoundland and New Brunswick decided not to subtract the increase in federal benefits from families’ welfare income.⁸

⁸ For a description of the Canada Child Tax Benefit, an analysis of its impact, and a review of its many shortcomings, see the National Council of Welfare publication Child Benefits: Kids Are Still Hungry (Autumn 1998).

Figure 6.1: Primary Sources of Income for Poor Couples Under 65 with Children

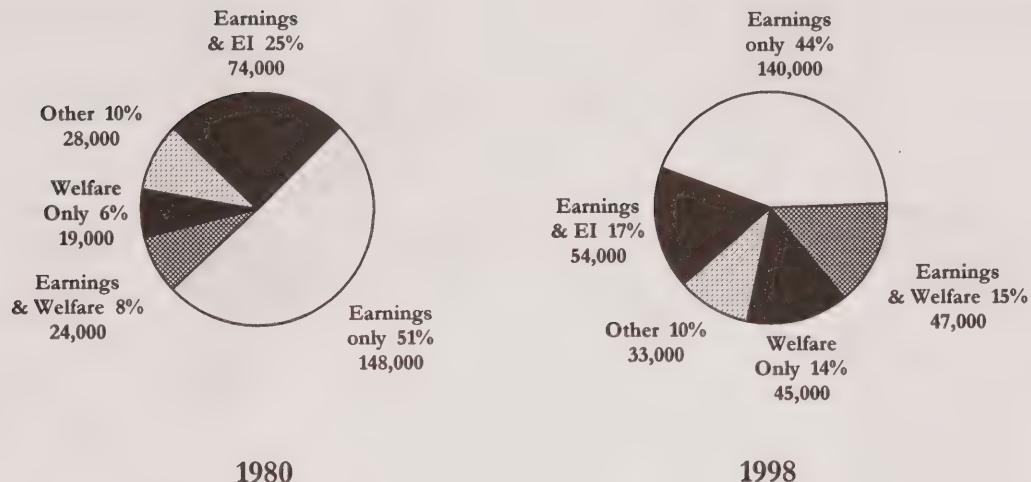
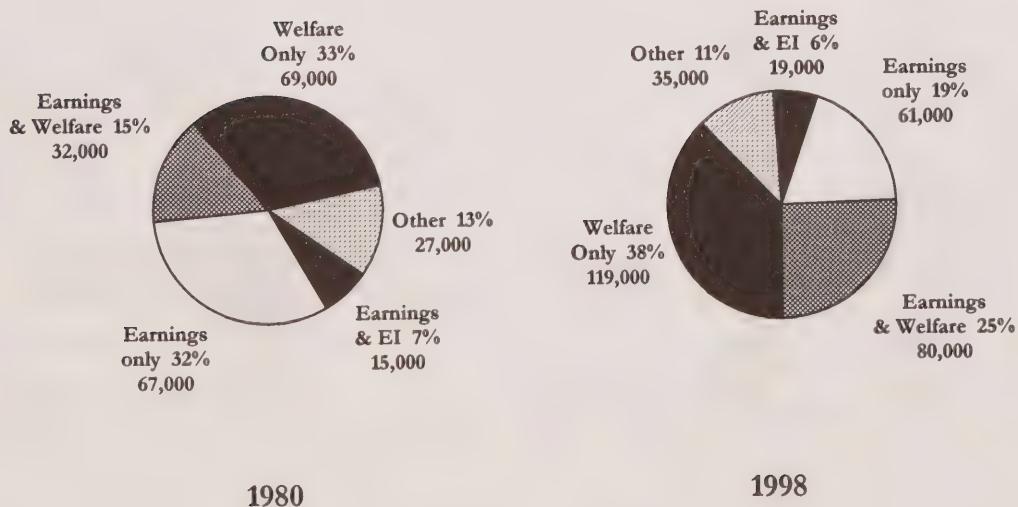
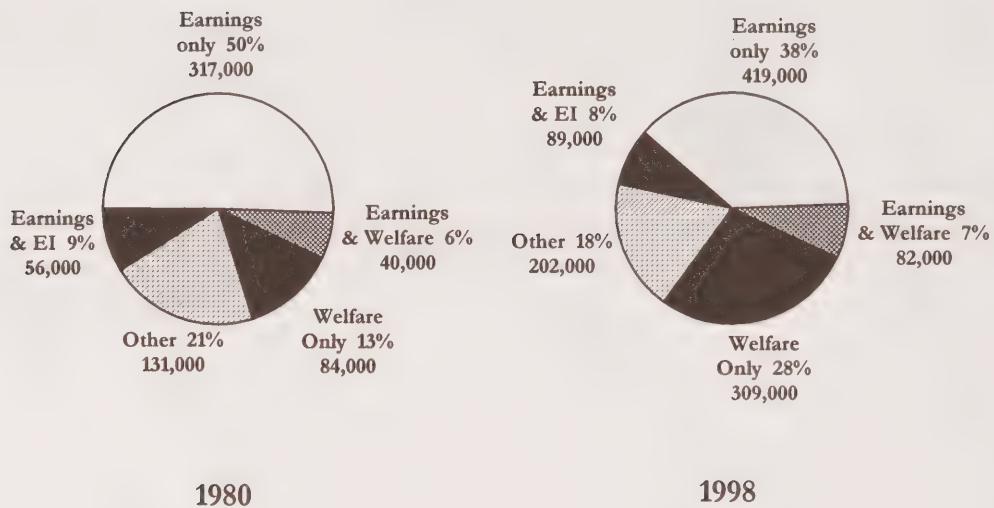


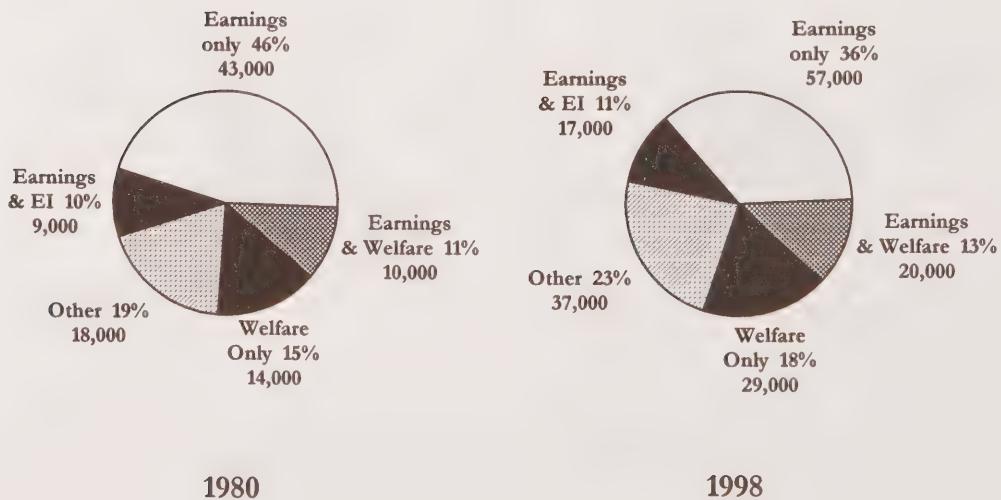
Figure 6.2: Primary Sources of Income for Poor Single-Parent Mothers Under 65



**Figure 6.3: Primary Sources of Income
for Poor Unattached Individuals Under 65**



**Figure 6.4: Primary Sources of Income
for Poor Childless Couples Under 65**



One of the striking features of the table is that families with welfare as their primary source of income had total average incomes several thousand dollars lower than poor families with earnings as their primary source of income. In other words, the poorest of poor families with children were also the families most likely to see their benefits clawed back.

TABLE 6.5: INCOMES OF POOR FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN
BY PRIMARY SOURCES OF INCOME, 1998

Primary Source(s) of Income	Couples under 65 with Children under 18	Single-Parent Mothers under 65 with Children under 18
EARNINGS		
Total Average Income	\$21,590	\$17,011
Average Earnings	\$14,707	\$10,638
Child Benefits	\$4,082	\$3,781
EARNINGS AND EMPLOYMENT INSURANCE		
Total Average Income	\$22,469	\$16,686
Average Earnings	\$13,444	\$9,416
Average EI	\$4,413	\$3,427
Child Benefits	\$3,560	\$3,138
EARNINGS AND WELFARE		
Total Average Income	\$23,429	\$17,390
Average Earnings	\$8,209	\$4,901
Average Welfare	\$9,144	\$7,299
Child Benefits	\$4,531	\$3,291
WELFARE		
Total Average Income	\$19,366	\$13,477
Average Welfare	\$12,267	\$8,937
Child Benefits	\$4,807	\$3,304

Families who have both earnings and welfare as primary sources of income also have some of their federal child benefits clawed back by provincial and territorial governments. One of the stated purposes of the Canada Child Tax Benefit is to encourage people on welfare to take jobs in the paid labour force. However, a family that receives earnings from a paid job, but also receives welfare income at some point in time loses its Canada Child Tax Benefit supplement. To take away the supplement when the family has taken steps to enter or remain in the labour force is contrary to the stated intention of the program.

TABLE 6.6: INCOMES OF POOR FAMILY TYPES UNDER 65 WITHOUT CHILDREN
BY PRIMARY SOURCES OF INCOME, 1998

Primary Source(s) of Income	Unattached Individuals under 65	Childless Couples under 65
EARNINGS		
Total Average Income	\$8,747	\$11,780
Average Earnings	\$7,615	\$8,413
EARNINGS AND EMPLOYMENT INSURANCE		
Total Average Income	\$11,365	\$15,015
Average Earnings	\$6,879	\$8,920
Average EI	\$3,746	\$4,502
EARNINGS AND WELFARE		
Total Average Income	\$8,560	\$14,914
Average Earnings	\$4,254	\$4,964
Average Welfare	\$3,552	\$7,042
WELFARE		
Total Average Income	\$7,612	\$12,673
Average Welfare	\$6,785	\$10,528

Table 6.6 shows similar income data for poor unattached people under 65 and poor couples under 65 without children. Poor people in these two family types do not receive federal child benefits, so the table shows total average income, average earnings, average EI benefits and average welfare benefits only. The poor unattached people or childless couples would have paid little or no income tax in 1998 because their incomes were so small.

For all types of families, families with earnings and EI as their primary sources of income in 1998 have the highest average income. The poorest of the poor, that is, those families with the average lowest incomes, are families with welfare as their primary source of income except for childless couples. The poorest childless couples have earnings as their primary source of income.

VII. A CLOSER LOOK AT GROUPS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

THE LOW-WAGE POOR

The low-wage poor or “working poor” are poor people who are normally in the labour force. Some researchers reserve the term for poor people who have full-time jobs for virtually the entire year. Others include poor people who have strong ties to the labour market regardless of the number of weeks worked or the normal hours of work each week.

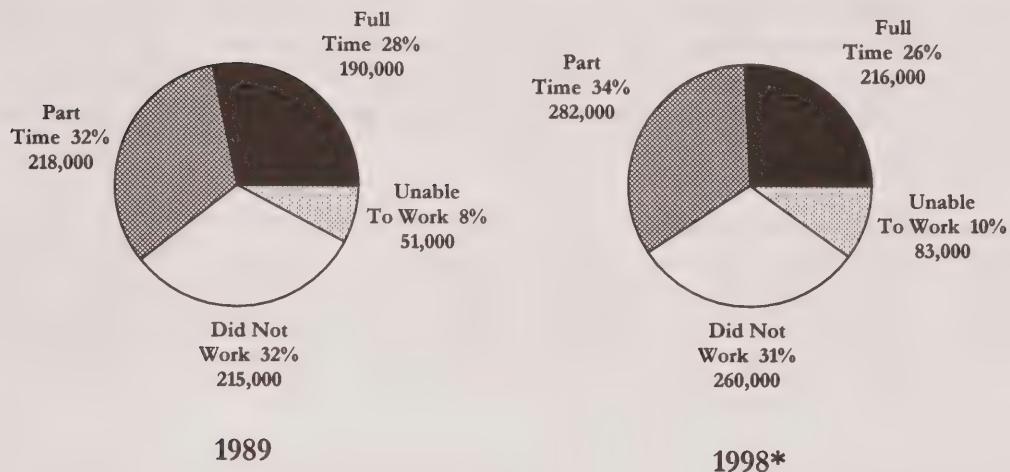
Figure 7.1 and Figure 7.2 show the distribution of poor heads of families and poor unattached individuals by their work activity in 1989 and 1998. Statistics Canada split the data for these graphs into four broad categories: people who worked full time, people who worked part time, people who were permanently unable to work because of a disability or poor health, and people who were able to work but did not.⁹ Full time means the person worked at least 49 weeks during the year and the normal work week was 30 hours or more. Part time means the person worked either less than 49 weeks or less than 30 hours a week or both.

In 1989, there were a total of 674,000 poor families with heads under 65, as shown in the left-hand portion of Figure 7.1. Twenty-eight percent of the poor family heads worked full time, 32 percent worked part time, 32 percent did not work at all, and the remaining eight percent were unable to work. The number of poor families was up to 981,000 in 1998, and there was a slight shift away from full-time work to part-time work or no work at all.

The patterns are slightly different for the poor unattached individuals shown in Figure 7.2. In 1989, 17 percent worked full time, 43 percent worked part time, 29 percent did not work and 11 percent were unable to work. In 1998, the group unable to work was up the most while the other groups were all down by four percentage points.

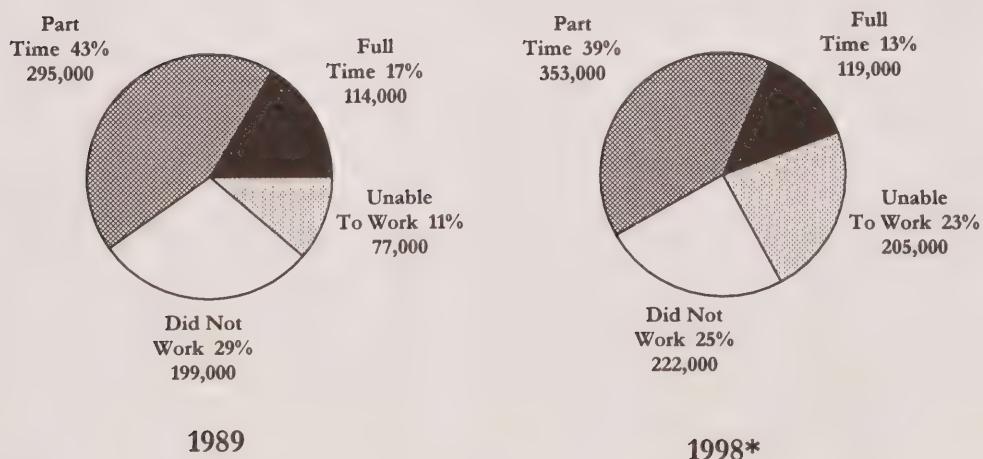
⁹ The 1998 data from the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics includes a fifth category for “full-time/part-time status unknown.”

Figure 7.1: Work Activity by Family Major Income Earners Under 65



*Excludes 140,000 families for whom full-time/part-time status of major income earner was unknown.

Figure 7.2: Work Activity by Unattached Individuals Under 65



*Excludes 207,000 unattached individuals for whom full-time/part-time status was unknown.

Another way to define the low-wage poor is families and unattached individuals living below the poverty line who get at least half of their total income from employment. This definition puts aside the distinction between full-time and part-time work and focuses on poor people who spend a substantial part of the year in paid jobs.

Using this definition, Statistics Canada identified a total of 403,000 families with heads under 65 and 500,000 unattached individuals under 65 who made up the low-wage poor in 1998. Table 7.1 gives the details for the five main family types under 65. For the purposes of Table 7.1, Statistics Canada excluded people who were permanently unable to work, the group described as the “unable to work” group in the previous graphs.

Earnings were the most important source of income for a sizable portion of four of the five family types shown. Fifty-six percent of the poor unattached men under 65, 55 percent of the poor unattached women, 50 percent of the poor couples without children and 60 percent of the poor couples with children were working poor. The exception to the rule was single-parent mothers. Only 25 percent of the poor single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 got half or more of their total income from earnings.

The lower part of Table 7.1 shows the average incomes of the low-wage poor. Average earnings for unattached men and women, for example, were the equivalent of 33 weeks of work at \$6 an hour for 40 hours a week. Average earnings for families were substantially higher, especially for couples with children, suggesting that family heads either received higher wage rates or had a second wage-earner in the family.

The importance of earnings to the low-wage poor is also shown in the lower part of Table 7.1. Although the figures were limited to poor people with earnings that amounted to at least half of their total income, the last row of the table shows that a much larger portion of total income typically came from earnings. Unattached men and women received almost 90 percent of their total income from earnings. Families received around three-quarters of their average income from earnings, ranging from 70 percent for single-parent mothers to 77 percent for childless couples.

TABLE 7.1: POOR FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65
WITH EARNINGS EQUAL TO 50 PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL INCOME, 1998

	Unattached Men	Unattached Women	Childless Couples	Couples with Children	Single-Parent Mothers
Total Number of Poor Families or Unattached People*	460,000	443,000	135,000	304,000	297,000
Number with Earnings of 50 Percent or More of Total Income	257,000	243,000	68,000	182,000	73,000
Percentage with Earnings of 50 Percent or More of Total Income	56%	55%	50%	60%	25%
Average Annual Earnings	\$7,788	\$8,014	\$9,277	\$15,881	\$12,404
Average Income from Sources Other than Earnings	\$1,214	\$1,023	\$2,810	\$6,582	\$5,206
Average Total Income	\$9,002	\$9,037	\$12,087	\$22,463	\$17,610
Earnings as a Percentage of Total Income	87%	89%	77%	71%	70%

* The table excludes people 65 and older and people permanently unable to work.

This suggests that few low-wage poor families or unattached people relied very much on welfare or employment insurance, since the average amounts of income aside from earnings were small. Probably most of the other income came from programs such as the federal GST credit or federal Child Tax Benefit.

In recent years, the number of working poor families and unattached individuals under 65 has been growing, but not as fast as the number of poor people who are able to work. Between 1989 and 1998, for example, the number of poor couples under 65 with children less than 18 rose by 27 percent, from 239,000 families to 304,000 families. The number of working poor couples with children rose only 20 percent, from 152,000 families to 182,000 families.

CHILDREN

Child poverty rates are a reflection of parental poverty rates and tend to rise or fall as economic conditions deteriorate or improve. The most striking difference year after year is the huge gulf between the poverty rates for children in two-parent families and the rates for children of single-parent mothers. There are also important differences from province to province.

Table 7.2 gives the 1998 poverty rates and the number of children living in poverty by family type and province. The category "poor children in all family types" includes a small number of children who do not fall into either of the two main family types listed. The national total of 1,327,000 poor children, for example, included 113,000 poor children under 18 living in less common family circumstances. Some of them lived with single-parent fathers under 65, parents who were 65 or older, or relatives other than parents.

The national poverty rate for children fell from 20.3 percent in 1997 to 18.8 percent in 1998, and the number of poor children fell from 1,439,000 to 1,327,000. The lowest provincial child poverty rate in 1998 was 11.1 percent in Prince Edward Island, and the highest was 24.5 percent in Newfoundland.

Between 1997 and 1998, the poverty rates for children fell in every province except Newfoundland. In Newfoundland, the child poverty rate rose from 23.6 percent in 1997 to 24.5 percent in 1998.

The national poverty rate for poor children in two-parent families was 11.7 percent in 1998, and provincial rates ranged from a low of 7.3 percent in Nova Scotia to a high of 17.7 percent in Newfoundland. The poverty rates for children of single-parent mothers were abysmally high. The national rate was 57.1 percent, and the range was from 44.7 percent in Alberta to 77.2 percent in Nova Scotia.

TABLE 7.2: CHILDREN UNDER 18 LIVING IN POVERTY, 1998

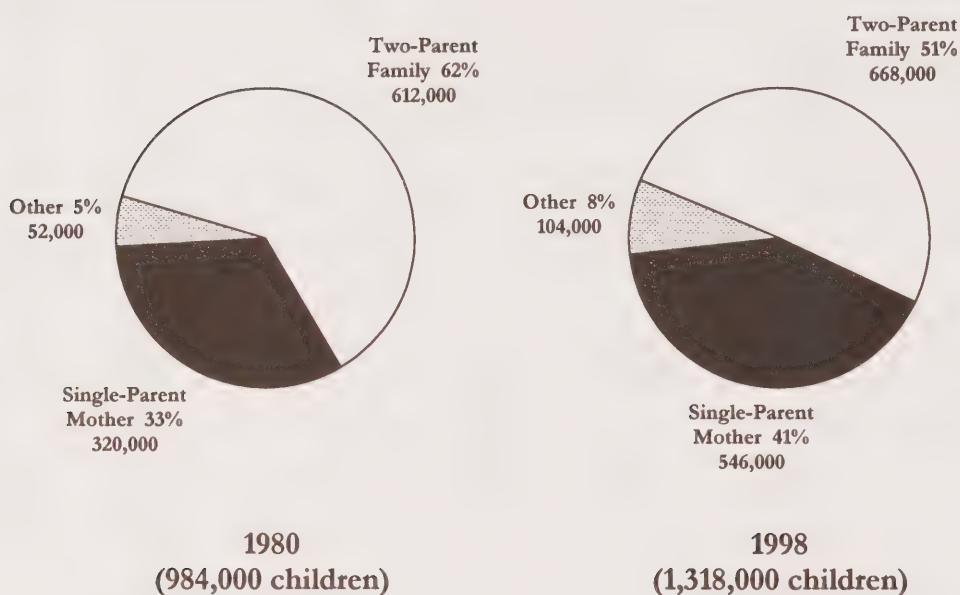
	Poor Children in All Family Types		Poor Children of Two-Parent Families under 65		Poor Children of Single-Parent Mothers under 65	
	Number of Children	Poverty Rate	Number of Children	Poverty Rate	Number of Children	Poverty Rate
Newfoundland	30,000	24.5%	18,000	17.7%	11,000	74.5%
Prince Edward Island	4,000	11.1%	sample too small		2,000	46.4%
Nova Scotia	40,000	19.2%	12,000	7.3%	23,000	77.2%
New Brunswick	29,000	17.0%	12,000	8.8%	15,000	60.6%
Quebec	393,000	24.0%	206,000	15.7%	148,000	61.8%
Ontario	463,000	17.1%	222,000	10.1%	204,000	57.6%
Manitoba	63,000	23.2%	35,000	15.9%	20,000	66.8%
Saskatchewan	48,000	18.7%	24,000	12.1%	23,000	46.8%
Alberta	123,000	16.3%	71,000	11.5%	38,000	44.7%
British Columbia	133,000	15.0%	65,000	9.0%	62,000	49.7%
Canada	1,327,000	18.8%	668,000	11.7%	546,000	57.1%

Although we saw slight improvements of child poverty rates between 1997 and 1998, the number of children living in poverty remains unacceptably high. The number of poor children in Canada increased by 42 percent between pre-recession 1989 and 1998. Ontario had, by far, the largest increase in poor children over this time period. The number of poor children in that province almost doubled from 254,000 in 1989 to 463,000 in 1998.

One of the long-standing myths about child poverty is that most poor children live in single-parent households. Table 7.2 shows that this is not the case. In 1998, 668,000 poor children lived in two-parent families under 65, while 546,000 poor children lived in single-parent families headed by women under 65. In every province, there are more poor children living in two-parent families than in single-parent mother families.

Nonetheless, the proportion of poor children living with single-parent mothers has grown substantially in recent years. As Figure 7.3 shows, 33 percent of all poor children in 1980 lived in families headed by single-parent mothers, and most of the rest lived in two-parent families. In 1998, the percentage of poor children with single-parent mothers was up to 41 percent and the percentage living with both parents was down to 51 percent.

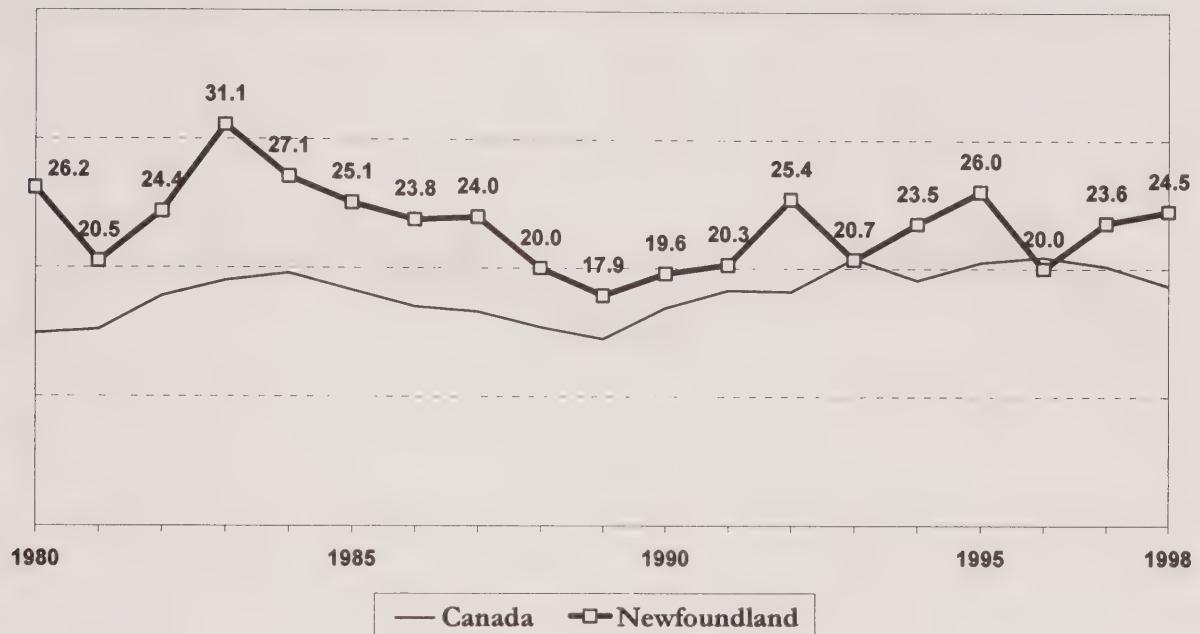
**Figure 7.3: Poor Children by Family Type,
1980 and 1998**



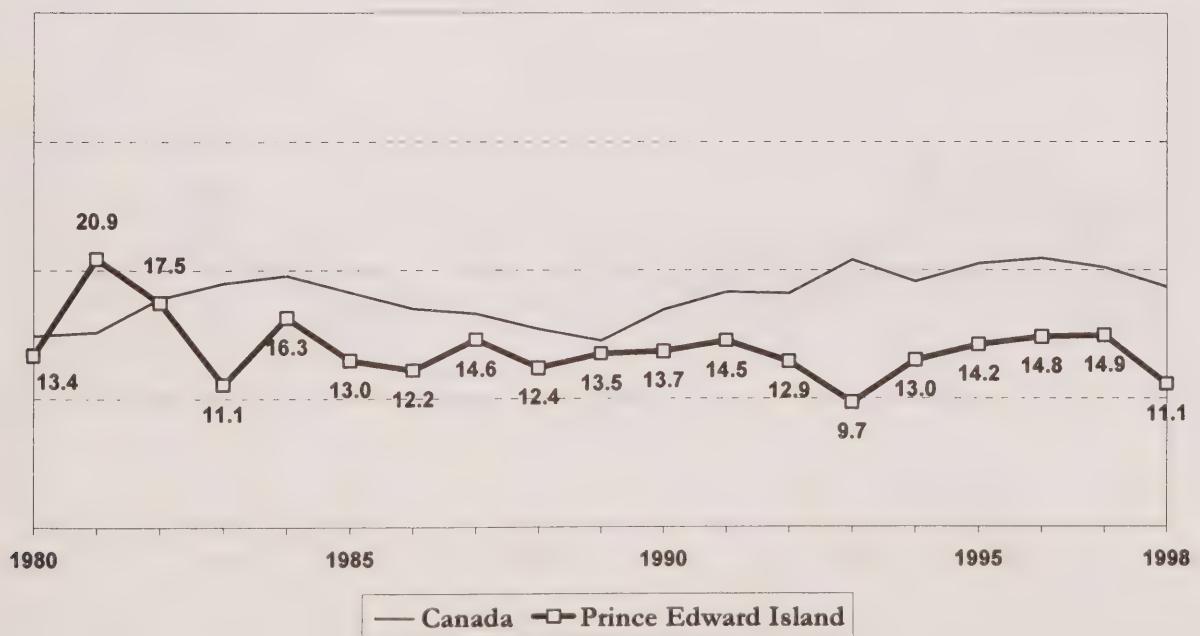
Provincial trends in child poverty are shown in the Figures 7.4 to 7.13 on the following five pages. Each graph gives overall child poverty rates from 1980 through 1998. For purposes of comparison, each graph also contains a line without percentages that shows the national child poverty rate.

Prince Edward Island and Ontario had child poverty rates that were below average for most of the period. Newfoundland, Quebec and Manitoba were generally higher than average. Rates in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia have moved above and below the national average over time.

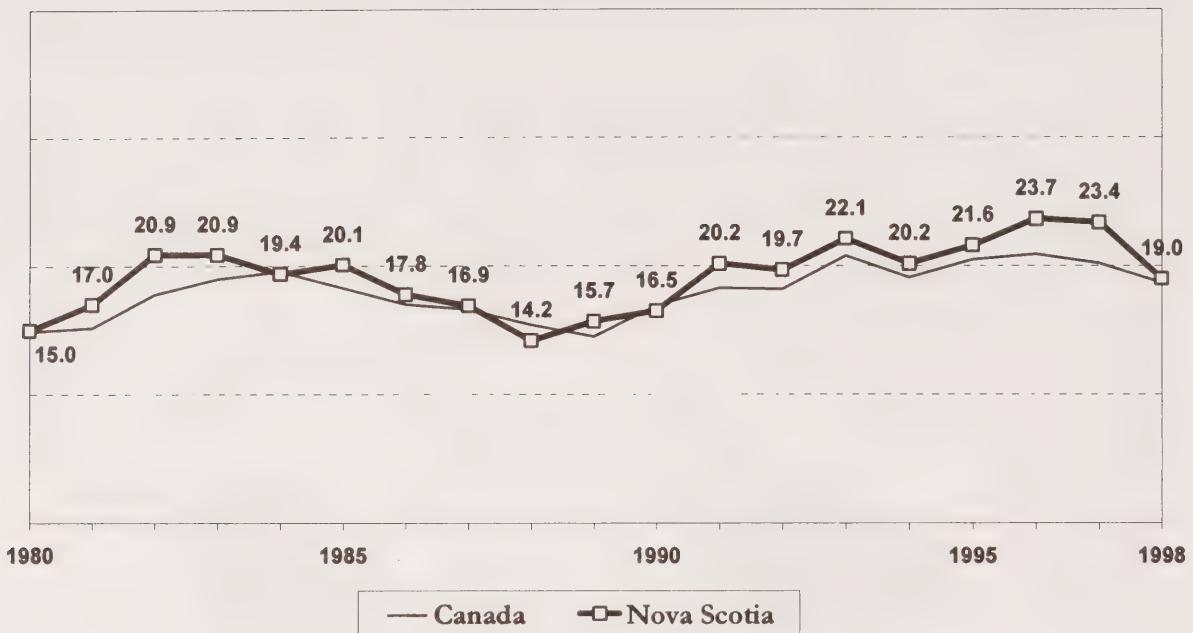
**Figure 7.4: Newfoundland
Percent of Children in Poverty**



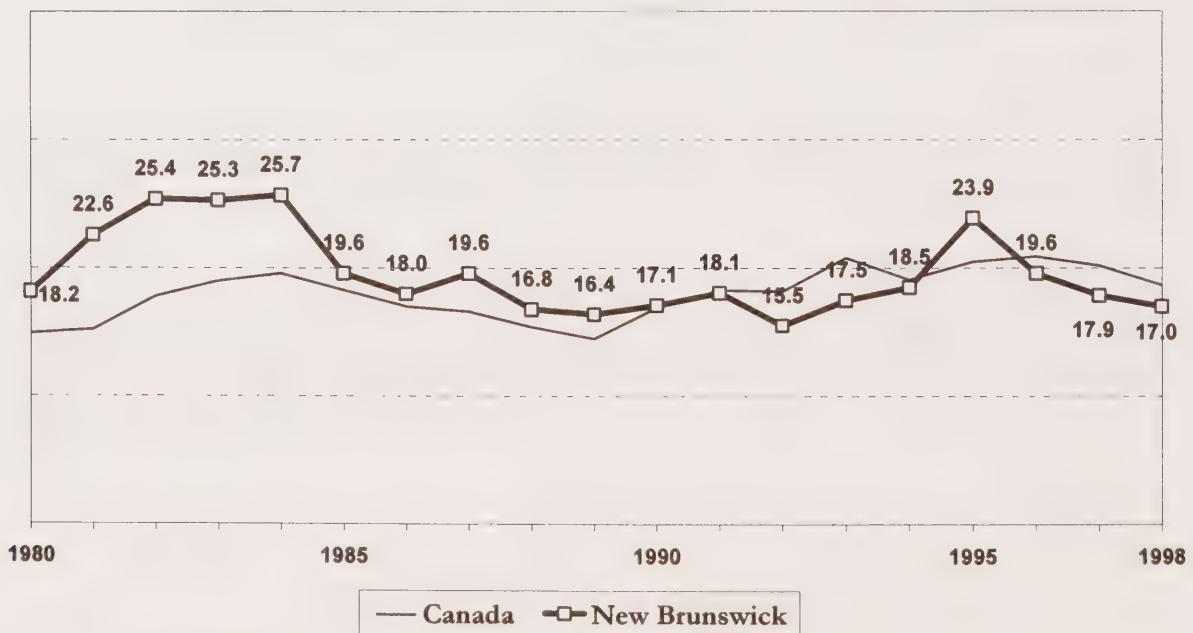
**Figure 7.5: Prince Edward Island
Percent of Children in Poverty**



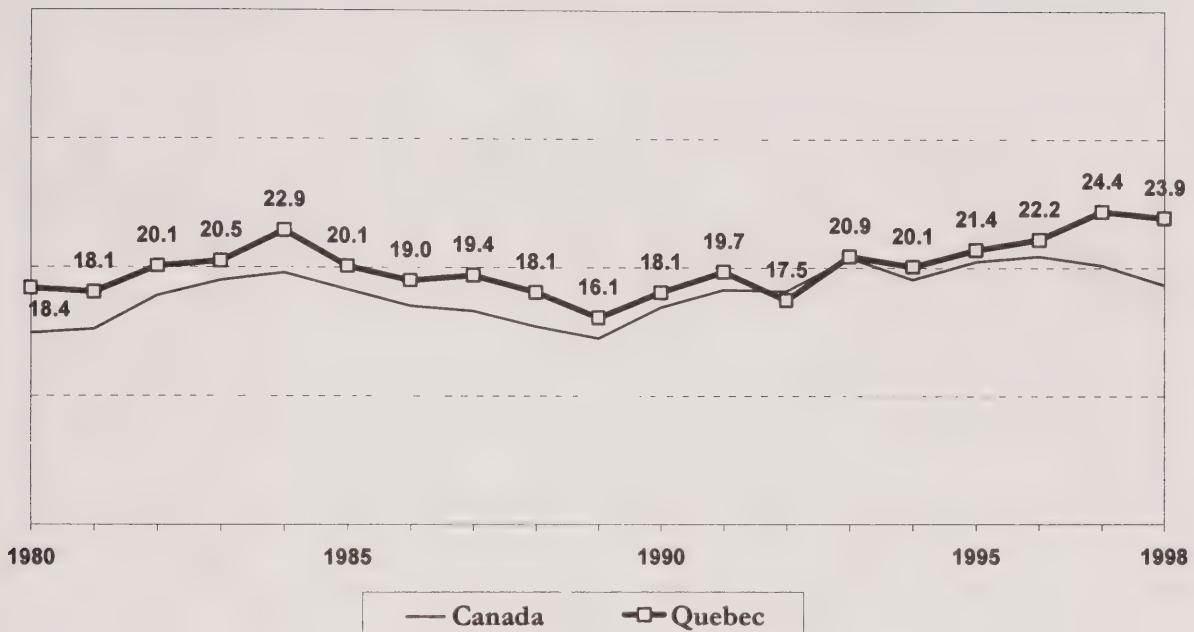
**Figure 7.6: Nova Scotia
Percent of Children in Poverty**



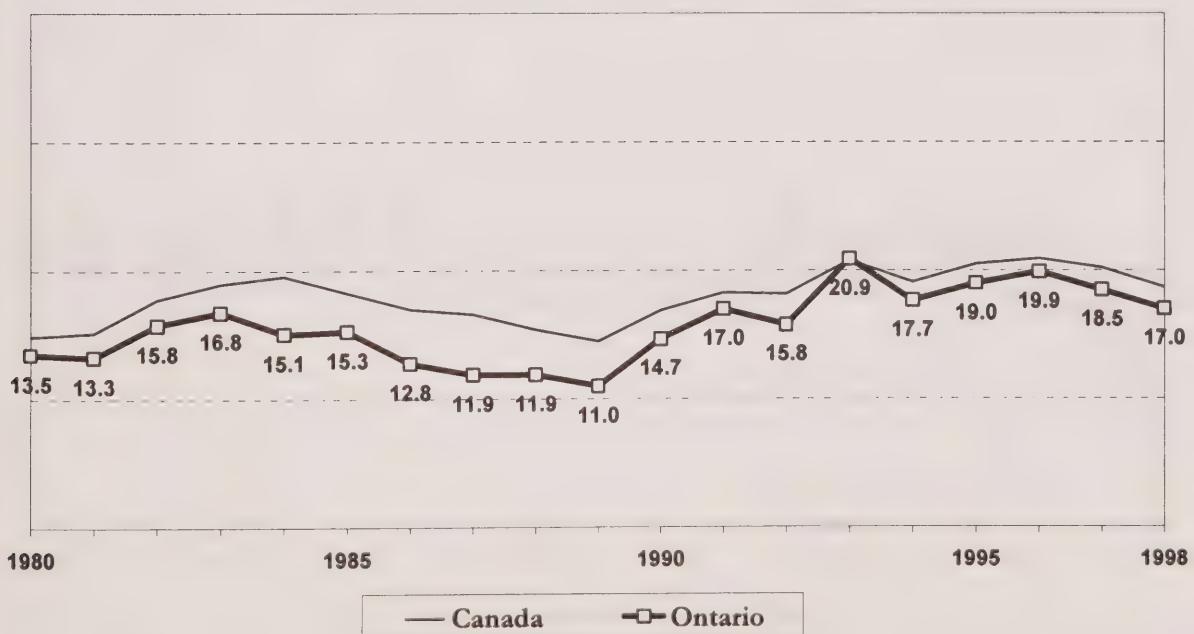
**Figure 7.7: New Brunswick
Percent of Children in Poverty**



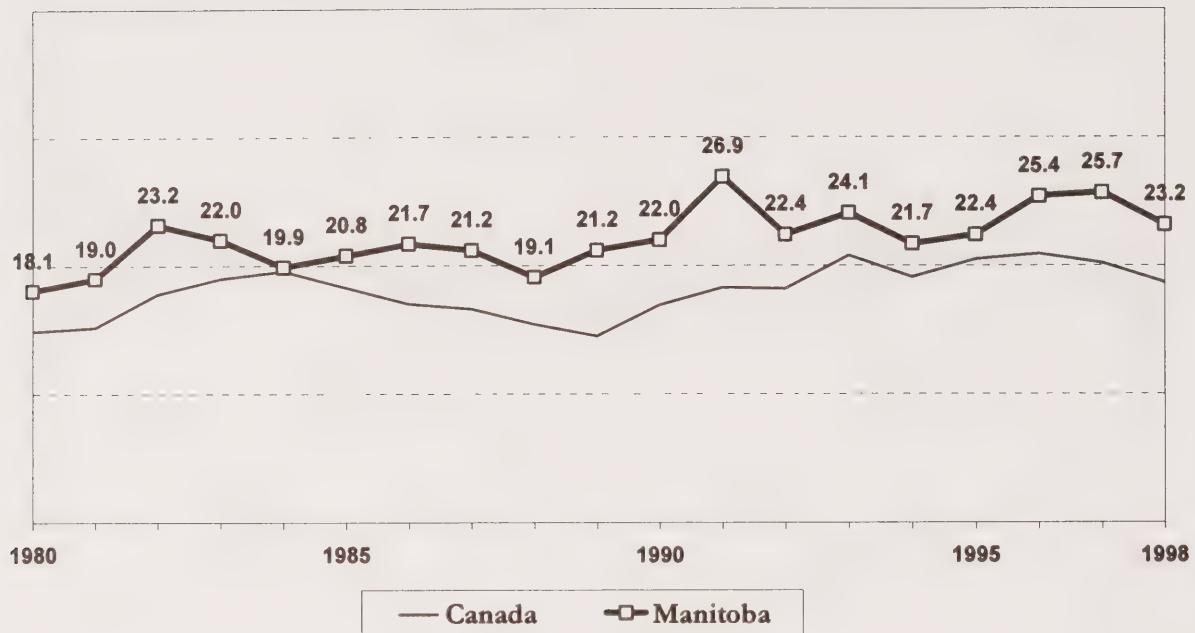
**Figure 7.8: Quebec
Percent of Children in Poverty**



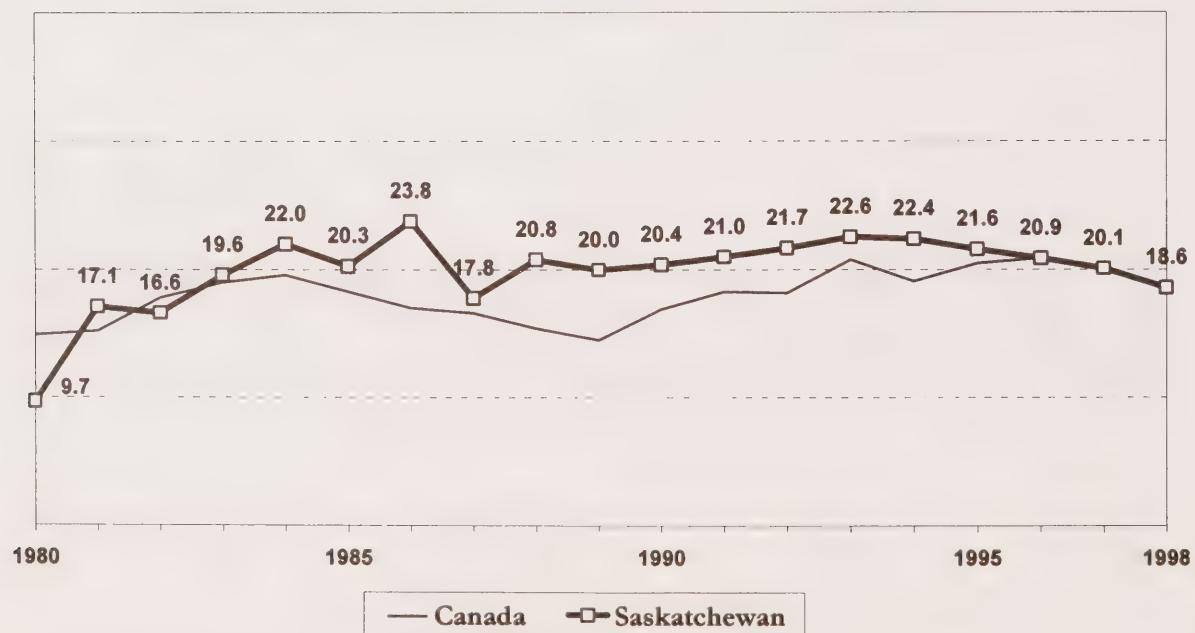
**Figure 7.9: Ontario
Percent of Children in Poverty**



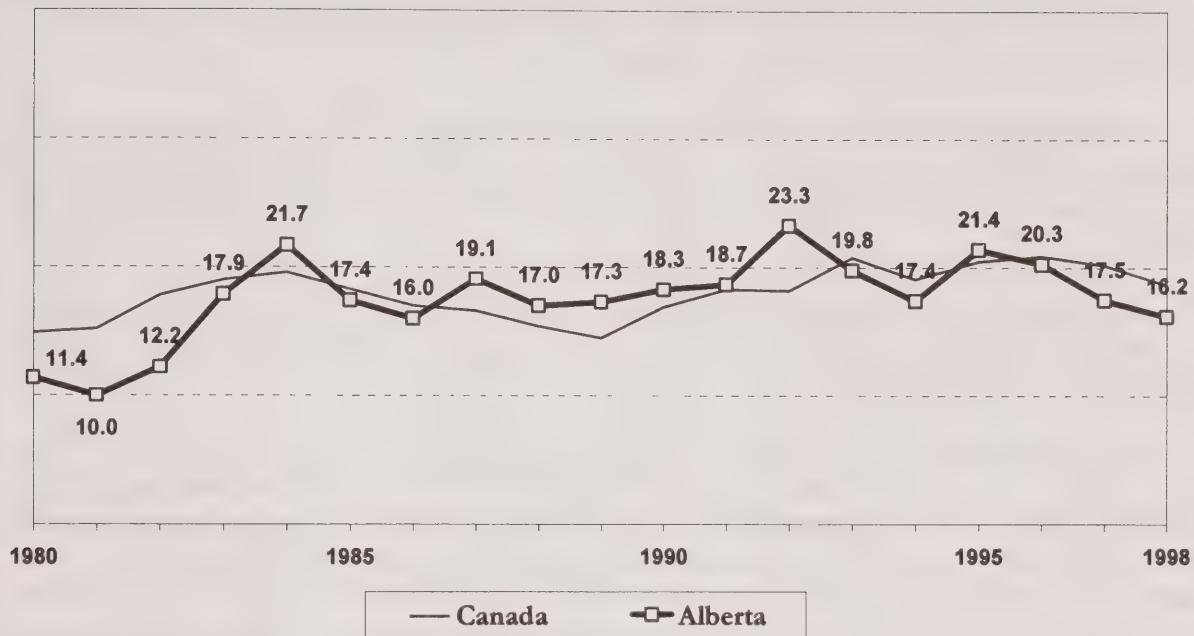
**Figure 7.10: Manitoba
Percent of Children in Poverty**



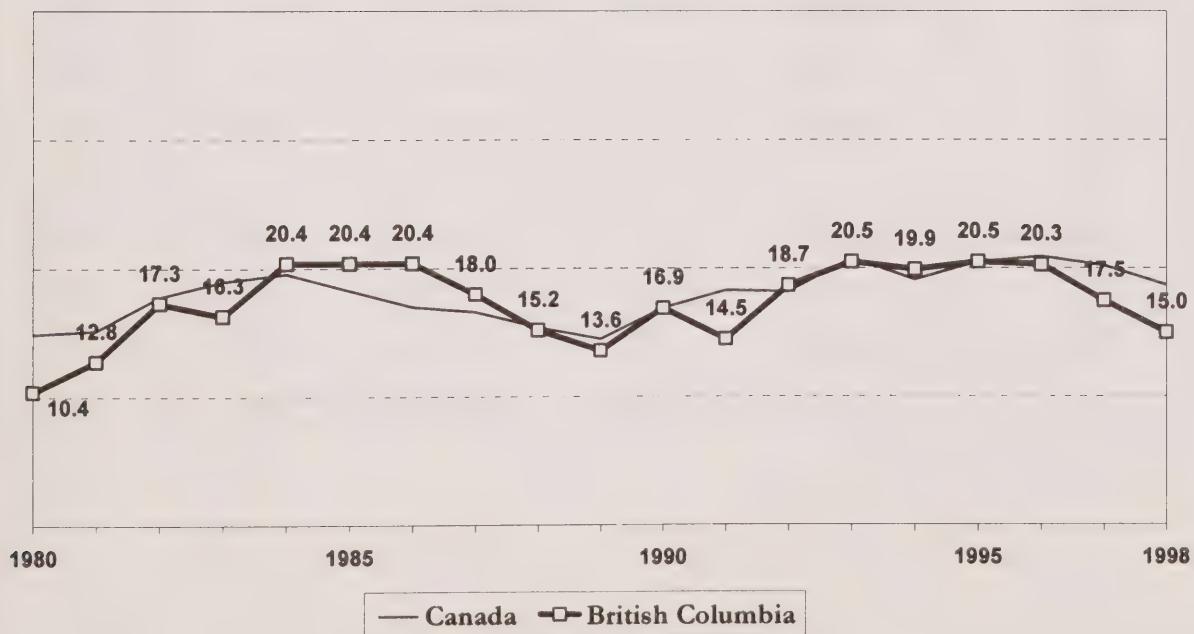
**Figure 7.11: Saskatchewan
Percent of Children in Poverty**



**Figure 7.12: Alberta
Percent of Children in Poverty**



**Figure 7.13: British Columbia
Percent of Children in Poverty**



WOMEN

As we showed in Chapter 4, women face a significantly higher risk of poverty than men. Table 7.3 gives the poverty rates for women and men age 18 and older for the years 1980 to 1998, and the ratio of female to male poverty rates each year.

In 1980, the poverty rate for adult women was 18 percent, the rate for adult men was 12.7 percent, and the rate for women was 1.42 times the rate for men. In 1998, the poverty rate for women was 17.6 percent, the rate for men was 13.5 percent and the ratio between the sexes was 1.30.

The year-to-year poverty rates for women and men tend to follow the ups and downs in the economy. The gap between the sexes appears to narrow slightly in tough economic times, but the changes in the ratio are small.

Most of the differences between the sexes can be explained by the high poverty rates of three family types: unattached women under 65, unattached women 65 and older, and single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. The 1998 poverty rate for unattached women under 65 was 41.9 percent, compared to 31.6 percent for unattached men under 65. For unattached seniors, the poverty rates were 39.4 percent for women and 28.9 percent for men. Single-parent families led by women with children under 18 had a poverty rate of 54.2 percent in 1998, a rate many times higher than the rates for married couples.

Aside from these three high-risk groups of women, there were no significant differences in the poverty rates for adult women and men. The vast majority of families are husband-wife families, and the poverty rates for husbands and wives are identical in all these cases.

TABLE 7.3: TRENDS IN POVERTY AMONG WOMEN AND MEN 18 AND OLDER

	Women		Men		Ratio of Female to Male Poverty Rates
	Poverty Rate	Number of Poor	Poverty Rate	Number of Poor	
1980	18.0%	1,565,000	12.7%	1,058,000	1.42
1981	17.8%	1,567,000	12.6%	1,063,000	1.40
1982	18.1%	1,624,000	13.6%	1,160,000	1.33
1983	20.1%	1,836,000	15.4%	1,334,000	1.30
1984	19.7%	1,817,000	14.9%	1,304,000	1.31
1985	18.8%	1,754,000	14.0%	1,240,000	1.34
1986	17.7%	1,677,000	13.4%	1,197,000	1.31
1987	17.4%	1,673,000	12.9%	1,176,000	1.34
1988	17.1%	1,664,000	11.7%	1,081,000	1.46
1989	15.5%	1,534,000	10.7%	1,001,000	1.45
1990	16.2%	1,622,000	11.3%	1,079,000	1.43
1991	17.3%	1,767,000	12.7%	1,234,000	1.36
1992	17.4%	1,804,000	13.1%	1,289,000	1.33
1993	18.5%	1,949,000	13.9%	1,398,000	1.33
1994	18.1%	2,011,000	13.4%	1,434,000	1.35
1995	18.2%	2,059,000	14.3%	1,556,000	1.27
1996	18.8%	2,143,000	14.1%	1,555,000	1.33
1997	19.1%	2,207,000	14.9%	1,654,000	1.28
1998	17.6%	2,065,000	13.5%	1,518,000	1.30

In younger husband-wife families, one fact that deserves special mention is the role of women's earnings keeping their families out of poverty. Although women earn less on average than men and face a number of barriers to equal participation in the labour force, their contribution is essential in keeping family poverty rates relatively low.

To get a better idea of the importance of the earnings of married women, in previous reports we have asked Statistics Canada to subtract the earnings of the wives from the total income of husband-wife families and calculate hypothetical poverty rates for families with the wives' earnings removed.

We were unable to do that calculation for this year's report. However, in previous years we found that the number of families living in poverty would have doubled without the wives' earnings.

SENIORS

Fighting poverty among seniors has been one of Canada's biggest success stories in social policy during the latter part of the 20th century. Poverty rates for people 65 and older have fallen dramatically over the years and continue to fall more or less steadily.

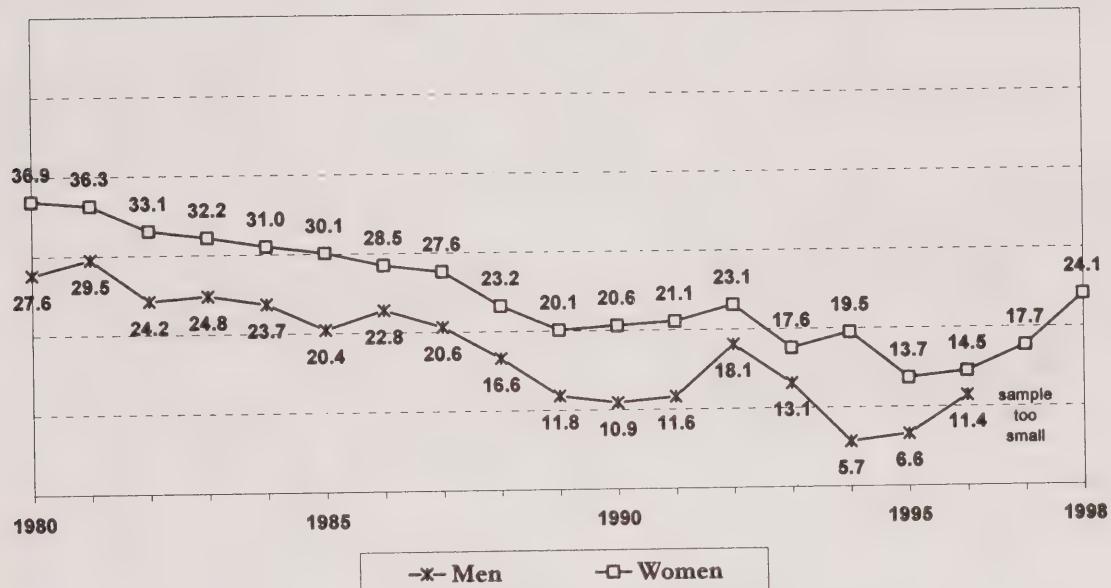
In 1998, the poverty rate for women 65 and older fell to an all-time low of 21.7 percent. That pushed the overall poverty rate for seniors down to a near-record low of 17.5 percent. The record-low for senior men and women combined was 16.9 percent in 1995.

Ontario had a record-low poverty rate for seniors of 12.5 percent in 1998. British Columbia had a record low rate for senior women of 20 percent.

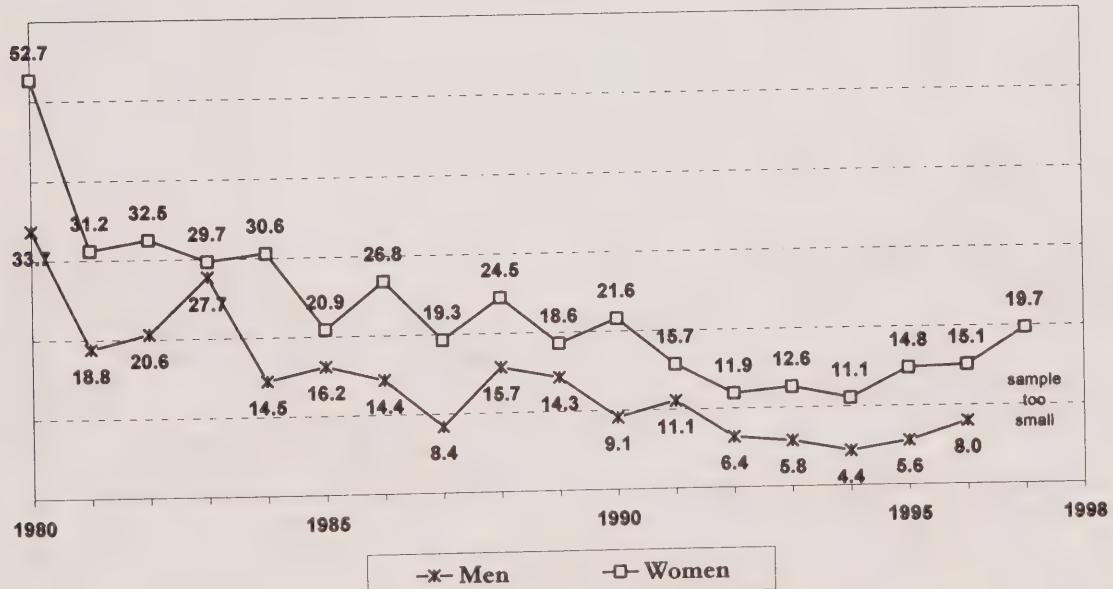
On the other hand, poverty rates for both women and men 65 and over were up in 1998 in Quebec and Saskatchewan. Poverty rates for senior women increased in Newfoundland and Alberta.

In all provinces, the poverty rates for senior men remain well below the rates for senior women. Details of the rates for women and men in all provinces from 1980 through 1998 are shown in Figures 7.14 to 7.23.

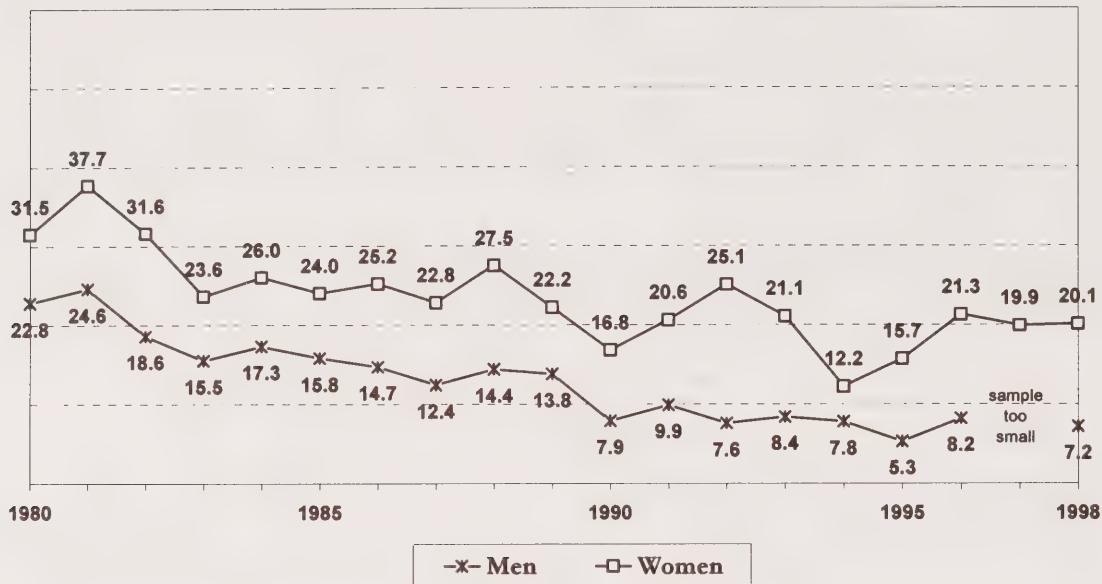
**Figure 7.14: Newfoundland
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



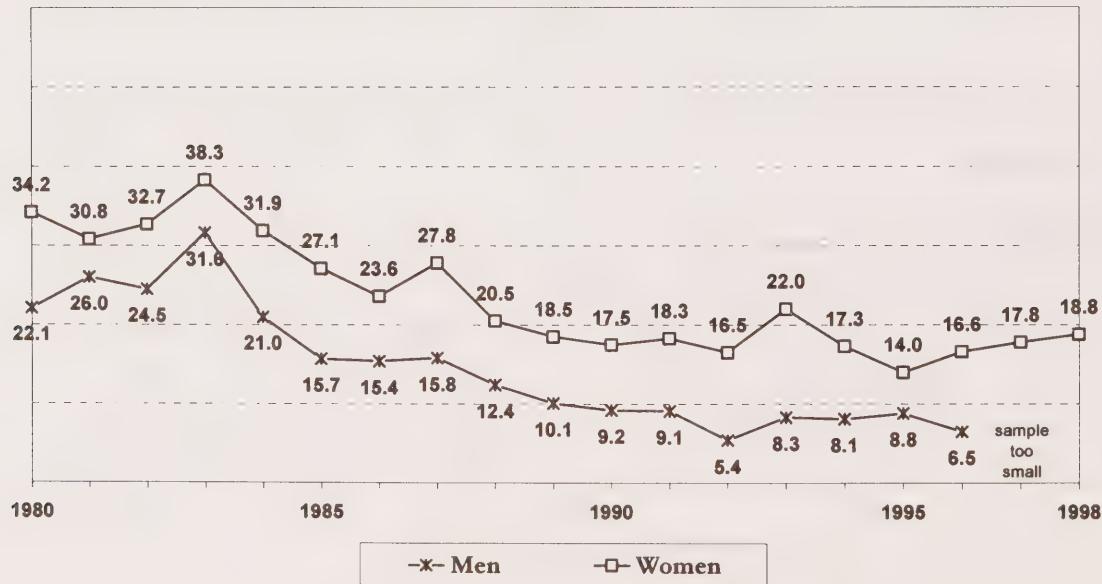
**Figure 7.15: Prince Edward Island
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



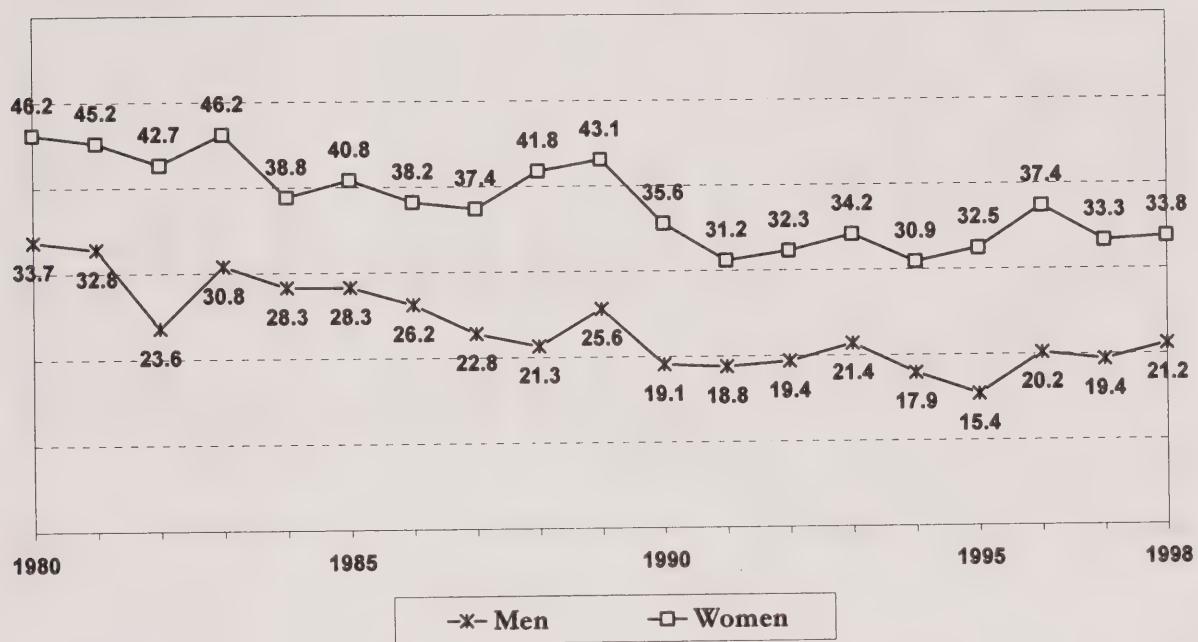
**Figure 7.16: Nova Scotia
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



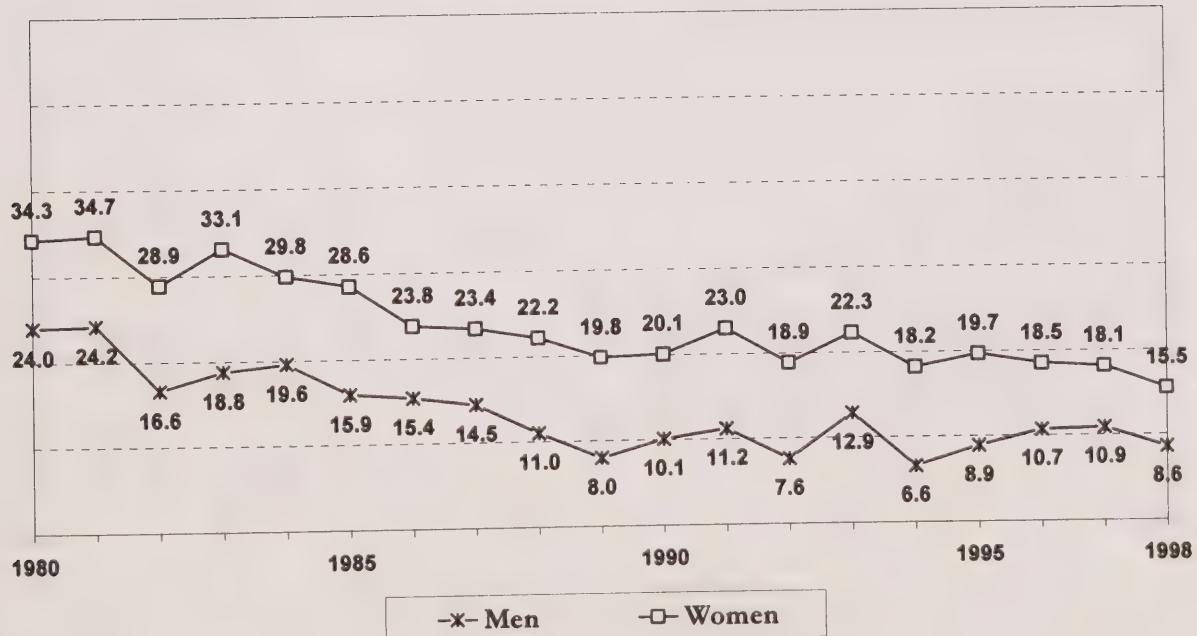
**Figure 7.17: New Brunswick
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



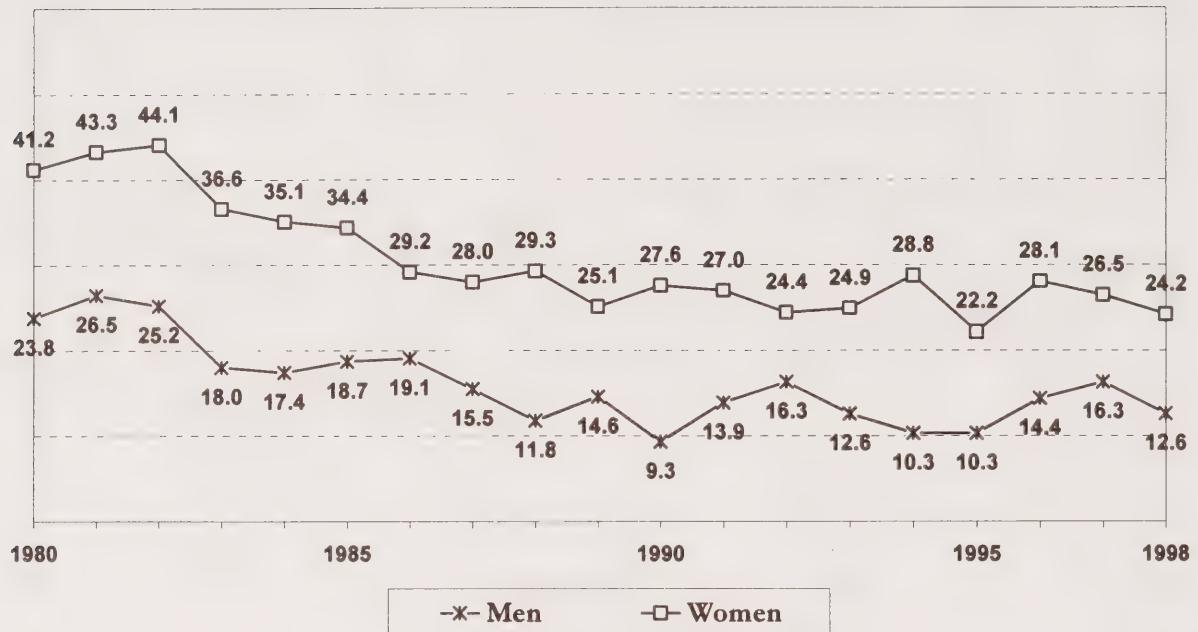
**Figure 7.18: Quebec
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



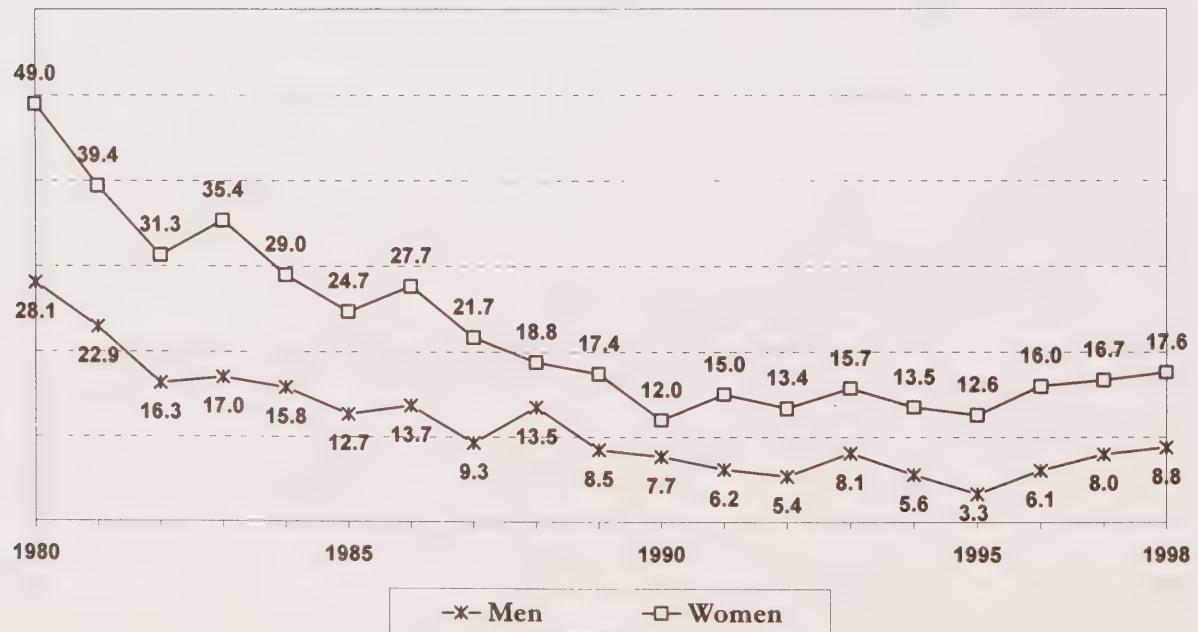
**Figure 7.19: Ontario
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



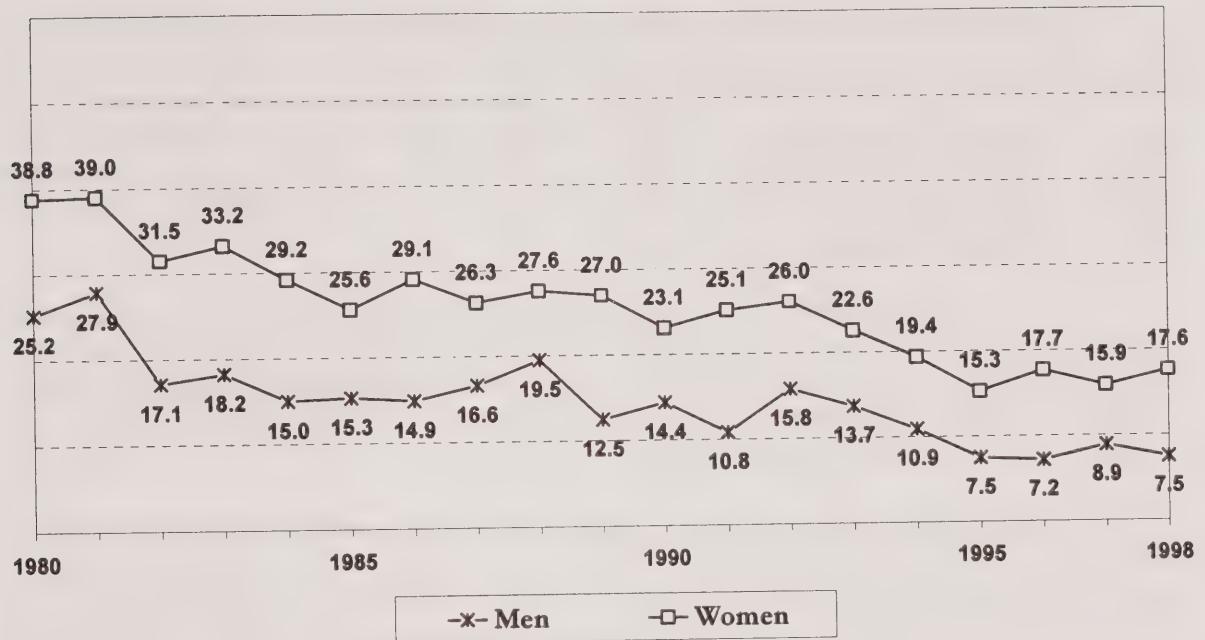
**Figure 7.20: Manitoba
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



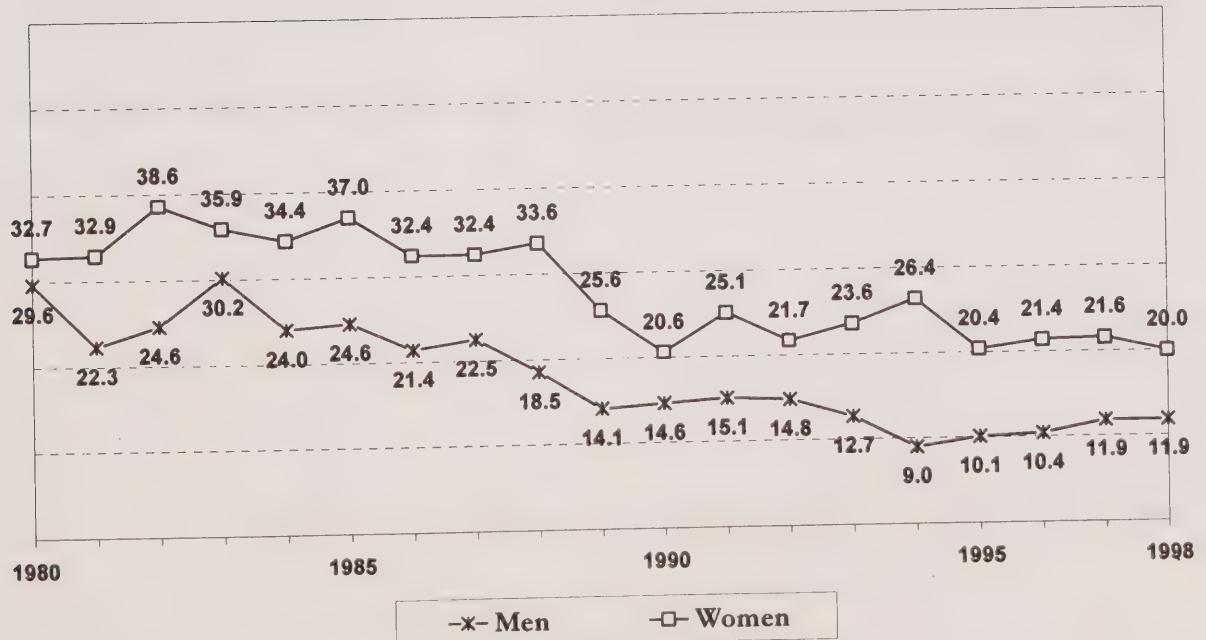
**Figure 7.21: Saskatchewan
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



**Figure 7.22: Alberta
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



**Figure 7.23: British Columbia
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



CONCLUSION

The National Council of Welfare is hopeful that the small improvements in poverty rates observed in 1998 are the start of a continued downward trend. However, we are wary of being optimistic. The current wave of economic prosperity has more often failed the poor than carried them out of poverty. The number of poor people and the poverty rate is still substantially higher than it was before the start of the last recession. Almost 400,000 more children lived in poverty in 1998 than in 1989. More people lived on less than 50 percent of the poverty line. More than 60 percent of unattached young people were poor.

A cause for optimism is the fact that seven in ten Canadians think that overall the governments in Canada are not doing enough to help poor people in this country.¹⁰ In the past year, we have seen protests against welfare cuts in Nova Scotia, anti-poverty protests at the Ontario legislature and the international March of Women demanding an end to poverty. Increasingly, people want to see all Canadians benefit from economic growth.

We now have more tools we can use to fight poverty. We are just starting to see the results of exciting new research into the dynamics of poverty. We now know that for some groups, poverty is more likely to last for a short period of time and that for some groups, poverty is more likely to persist year after year. This enhanced understanding will dispel many of the myths of poverty and can be used to design more effective and efficient policies.

The National Council of Welfare calls on the new federal government to seize the opportunity to make the fight against poverty a key element of their mandate. The government is in the enviable position of taking office in a time of economic prosperity, in a time of government surplus and in a time when there are increasing demands by Canadians for governments to do more to help poor people get out of poverty.

We can have happy endings to poverty stories in Canada. The success of seniors and poverty shows that political will can make a difference.

¹⁰ "Poverty in Canada" poll conducted by the Angus Reid Group/Globe and Mail/CTV in November 1999.

APPENDICES

**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE ESTIMATES OF STATISTICS
CANADA'S LOW-INCOME CUT-OFFS (1986 BASE) FOR 1999***

Family Size	Community Size				
	Cities of 500,000+	100,000-499,999	30,000-99,999	Less than 30,000	Rural Areas
1	\$16,774	\$14,734	\$14,393	\$13,122	\$11,419
2	\$22,737	\$19,972	\$19,510	\$17,784	\$15,481
3	\$28,902	\$25,388	\$24,799	\$22,606	\$19,675
4	\$33,278	\$29,226	\$28,553	\$26,030	\$22,654
5	\$36,357	\$31,933	\$31,195	\$28,438	\$24,753
6	\$39,466	\$34,660	\$33,861	\$30,867	\$26,868
7+	\$42,447	\$37,283	\$36,421	\$33,202	\$28,898

* Based on 1.7 percent inflation in 1999.

**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE ESTIMATES OF STATISTICS
CANADA'S LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS (1986 BASE) FOR 2000***

Family Size	Community Size				
	Cities of 500,000+	100,000-499,999	30,000-99,999	Less than 30,000	Rural Areas
1	\$17,060	\$14,985	\$14,638	\$13,345	\$11,613
2	\$23,123	\$20,312	\$19,842	\$18,086	\$15,744
3	\$29,393	\$25,819	\$25,221	\$22,990	\$20,010
4	\$33,844	\$29,722	\$29,038	\$26,472	\$23,039
5	\$36,975	\$32,476	\$31,726	\$28,921	\$25,173
6	\$40,137	\$35,249	\$34,437	\$31,391	\$27,325
7+	\$43,168	\$37,917	\$37,040	\$33,766	\$29,389

* Based on estimate of 1.7 percent inflation in 2000.

REGIONAL POVERTY STATISTICS, 1998

	Atlantic		Quebec		Ontario		West	
	Number of Poor	Poverty Rate						
Single-Parent Mothers under 65 With Children under 18	32,000	66.4%	83,000	56.8%	112,000	52.1%	87,000	51.1%
Unattached Women under 65	45,000	54.0%	177,000	46.9%	149,000	34.8%	172,000	42.1%
Unattached Men under 65	39,000	36.5%	181,000	37.5%	171,000	29.0%	173,000	28.5%
Unattached Women 65 and Older	26,000	40.6%	129,000	55.9%	95,000	30.8%	87,000	34.3%
Unattached Men 65 and Older			33,000	38.8%	31,000	28.0%	28,000	25.1%
Couples under 65 With Children under 18	24,000	9.7%	102,000	14.1%	104,000	8.8%	90,000	9.8%
Childless Couples under 65	16,000	11.1%	66,000	13.3%	41,000	6.1%	36,000	6.7%
Couples 65 and Older			31,000	14.3%	15,000	4.6%	19,000	7.1%

DEPTH OF POVERTY IN DOLLARS BELOW POVERTY LINE AND PERCENTAGE OF POVERTY LINE, 1998

	Atlantic		Quebec		Ontario		West	
	Dollar Gap	% of Line						
Single-Parent Mothers under 65 With Children under 18	\$7,930	64%	\$10,051	60%	\$9,363	63%	\$8,754	64%
Unattached Women under 65	\$5,998	57%	\$7,551	51%	\$7,000	54%	\$6,813	55%
Unattached Men under 65	\$6,266	54%	\$6,959	55%	\$6,681	55%	\$6,883	55%
Unattached Women 65 and Older	\$1,679	88%	\$2,997	81%	\$2,205	86%	\$2,233	86%
Unattached Men 65 and Older	\$1,663	88%	\$2,428	85%	\$3,118	80%	\$3,150	80%
Couples under 65 With Children under 18	\$8,351	68%	\$8,702	72%	\$9,238	70%	\$8,421	72%
Childless Couples under 65	\$7,189	59%	\$7,101	66%	\$5,959	71%	\$8,654	56%
Couples 65 and Older	\$3,523	82%	\$3,973	82%	\$3,649	83%	\$2,540	88%

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE

Mr. John Murphy (Chairperson)
Canning, Nova Scotia

Mr. Armand Brun (Vice-Chairperson)
Shediac, New Brunswick

Ms. Doris Bernard	Radisson, Quebec
Ms. Olive Crane	Mt. Stewart, Prince Edward Island
Ms. Ann Gill	Hay River, Northwest Territories
Ms. Miriam Green	Montreal, Quebec
Ms. Alice Hanson	Edmonton, Alberta
Mr. Bruce Hardy	Surrey, British Columbia
Ms. Allyce Herle	Regina, Saskatchewan
Ms. Dana Howe	Windsor, Ontario
Mr. David Northcott	Winnipeg, Manitoba
Ms. Marilyn Peers	Halifax, Nova Scotia
Ms. Shaunna Reid	Mount Pearl, Newfoundland
Mr. Abdi Ulusso	Etobicoke, Ontario

Director: Joanne Roulston

Senior Researcher: Cathy Oikawa

Administration and Information Officer: Nancy Scott

Administrative Assistant: Louise Gunville

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE

The National Council of Welfare was established by the Government Organization Act, 1969, as a citizens' advisory body to the federal government. It advises the Minister of Human Resources Development on matters of concern to low-income Canadians.

The Council consists of members drawn from across Canada and appointed by the Governor-in-Council. All are private citizens and serve in their personal capacities rather than as representatives of organizations or agencies. The membership of the Council has included past and present welfare recipients, public housing tenants and other low-income people, as well as educators, social workers and people involved in voluntary or charitable organizations.

Reports by the National Council of Welfare deal with a wide range of issues on poverty and social policy in Canada, including: income security programs, welfare reform, medicare, poverty lines and poverty statistics, the retirement income system, taxation, labour market issues, social services and legal aid.

On peut se procurer des exemplaires en français de toutes les publications du Conseil national du bien-être social, en s'adressant au Conseil national du bien-être social, 2^e étage, 1010, rue Somerset ouest, Ottawa K1A 0J9, sous notre site web au www.ncwcnbes.net ou sous forme de courrier électronique au ncw@magi.com.

CA1
HW700
-P56

Volume #117

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE REPORTS

POVERTY PROFILE 1999

SUMMER 2002

Canada

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE REPORTS

POVERTY PROFILE
1999

SUMMER 2002

Copies of this publication may be obtained from

National Council of Welfare
9th Floor, 112 Kent Street
Place de Ville, Tower B
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0J9
Tel: (613) 957-2961
Fax: (613) 957-0680
E-mail: ncw@magi.com
Web Site: www.ncwcnbes.net

Également disponible en français sous le titre:
Profil de la pauvreté, 1999

© Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada 2002
Cat. No. H67-1/4-1999E
ISBN 0-662-32149-9

Canadian Publications Mail # 1464418

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
POVERTY IN CANADA: KEY PATTERNS AND TRENDS	5
GENERAL TRENDS, 1998 TO 1999	5
POVERTY LEVELS AND THE AVERAGE POVERTY RATE, 1999	5
HISTORICAL TRENDS, 1980-1999	6
POVERTY AND GENDER	7
POVERTY AND CHILDREN	7
POVERTY AND IMMIGRANT OR MINORITY STATUS	7
POVERTY AND EDUCATION	7
POVERTY AND LABOUR FORCE ATTACHMENT	8
POVERTY AND SENIORS	8
I. RECENT POVERTY TRENDS	9
ALL INDIVIDUALS	9
POVERTY TRENDS FOR FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS	14
1999 PRE-TAX AND POST-TAX POVERTY RATES	21
II. VIEW FROM THE PROVINCES	31
ALL PERSONS	31
FAMILIES	43
UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS	43
1999 PRE-TAX AND POST-TAX POVERTY RATES	45
POVERTY RATES RELATIVE TO PROVINCIAL POPULATION	48
III. SNAPSHOTS OF POVERTY IN 1999	53
FAMILY TYPE	53
DIFFERENCES BY AGE, SEX AND FAMILY TYPE	55
DIFFERENCES BY AGE OF MAJOR INCOME EARNER	56
WORK ACTIVITY	60
NUMBER AND AGE OF CHILDREN	61
EDUCATION	64
YEAR OF IMMIGRATION	68
AREA OF RESIDENCE	70
DWELLING TENURE	71
IV. POOR CANADIANS AND THEIR SOURCES OF INCOME	73
TRANSFER PAYMENTS	75
SOURCES OF INCOME	77

V. THE LOW-WAGE POOR.....	85
WORK ACTIVITY STATUS.....	85
EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF MAJOR INCOME EARNER AND OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS	87
MAIN ACTIVITY OF MAJOR INCOME EARNER	87
INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 1999	91
VI. DEPTH OF POVERTY AND THE POVERTY GAP.....	93
CANADA'S TOTAL POVERTY GAP	95
INCOME DISTRIBUTION AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE POVERTY LINE BY FAMILY TYPE	97
PEOPLE LIVING AT LESS THAN HALF OF THE POVERTY LINE	103
VII. DURATION OF POVERTY.....	107
DURATION OF POVERTY BY FAMILY COMPOSITION	107
DURATION BY AGE AND SEX	112
DURATION BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND SEX.....	114
DURATION BY WORK LIMITATION, IMMIGRATION STATUS, MINORITY STATUS	114
VIII. A CLOSER LOOK AT GROUPS OF SPECIAL INTEREST.....	125
WOMEN	125
CHILDREN.....	128
SENIORS.....	129
IX. ABORIGINAL PEOPLES.....	137
CONCLUSION	147
APPENDICES	
A – METHODOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS	149
B – LOW-INCOME CUT-OFFS (PRE-TAX).....	154
C – LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS (POST-TAX)	155
D – POVERTY RATES BY REGION.....	156
E – DEPTH OF POVERTY STATISTICS BY REGION, 1999.....	157
MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE	158
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE	159

INTRODUCTION

The National Council of Welfare was pleased to see that many of the poverty rates in Canada, which decreased slightly in 1998, have continued in that direction in 1999. But there is scant cause for hope that our wealthy country is doing what it takes to seriously address the causes and consequences of poverty. Some groups of Canadians still face very high poverty rates as well as severe depth and long duration of poverty.

During the same period from 1998 to 1999, Canada's Gross Domestic Product grew from \$919.8 billion to \$966.4 billion—an increase of nearly 5 percent. If this real rate of economic growth were to be used as a yardstick, most Canadian poverty rates actually stagnated in 1999 as they had throughout the 1990s.

The legacy of past and current gender discrimination continues as senior women's poverty rates worsened between 1998 and 1999. And how can our country's expectations for the future be bright when children under six are the most likely to have experienced poverty in all six years between 1993 and 1998—in effect, their whole lives, during the most critical period of human development? Additional key patterns and trends are provided in the next section.

Poverty Profile 1999 is the latest annual report by the National Council of Welfare based on factual material compiled by Statistics Canada. It includes numerous statistics for 1999 and poverty trends dating back to 1980. As in the past, the report is an analysis of the facts rather than a blueprint for eliminating poverty and it contains no specific recommendations as such. The National Council of Welfare has published many other reports over the years that are full of proposals for combating poverty.

Since the publication of *Poverty Profile 1998*, our data have gone through two separate but overlapping revisions that have somewhat affected the numbers compared to earlier editions of *Poverty Profile* but the patterns and trends remain consistent. The first set of revisions required the re-weighting of data from several years. Statistics Canada revised its low-income data for the period 1980 through 1993 in the 1994 version of *Income Distributions by Size in Canada*. These revisions included shifting population estimates to the 1991 census base, adjusting the estimates to correct under-coverage, and including non-permanent residents physically present in Canada. The National Council of Welfare has decided to use Statistics Canada's re-weighted counts for 1980 to 1993.

The second set of revisions aimed to harmonise standards and definitions between the Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF) and the Survey of Income and Labour Dynamics (SLID). SCF, from which we derived our data from 1980 through 1995, excluded military personnel and people who did not have an income. In addition, in SCF a child is defined as "a person under 18 years of age, excluding persons 15 to 17 years old who reported marital status as other than single". In essence, this definition excludes any person under 18 years of age that is married, separated, divorced or widowed. In contrast, our data for 1996 to 1999 use the SLID definition of a child as "all persons under 18 years of age, regardless of marital status". We have obtained data from Statistics Canada using the definition of a child for 1980 to 1995 that is consistent with the SLID definition.

There are also new features in *Poverty Profile 1999*. In previous years, most of the data presented covered poverty for one year only. They could not tell us how many of the people who were poor in one year were also poor in the subsequent years or how long they were likely to remain poor. However, this edition of *Poverty Profile* uses data from the recently completed Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics to investigate the dynamics of poverty. It provides an analysis of how people's incomes changed over time between 1993 and 1998.

Also, in previous years, we analyzed the incidence and depth of poverty in Canada using primarily pre-tax low-income lines. Where possible in this report, particularly in our analysis of long-term poverty in Canada, we have provided both pre-tax and post-tax poverty measures. One advantage of this approach is that it enables us to see the impact of the income tax system on income distribution in Canada. It also accounts for the fact that some sources of income are not taxable. Some taxes such as sales taxes, however, are not included and they can have a regressive effect that is not offset by GST and other credits. Both pre- and post-tax measures are important tools for understanding poverty. For more details on methodology and definitions, please refer to the Appendices.

In addition to the income disparities covered in this report, recently released results of Statistic Canada's Survey of Financial Security indicate that wealth disparities are also a major and growing problem. Many low-income Canadians have few or no assets and high debt, a recipe for ongoing exclusion and hopelessness. In our report this year, we have included some information on assets from the SLID database.

A special feature for this edition of *Poverty Profile* is a chapter focusing on Aboriginal peoples¹. From the Council's perspective, it is crucial that governments in Canada make greater efforts to reduce and prevent poverty among Aboriginal peoples taking into account the context in which they live. Information from the SLID database on the situation of some Aboriginal people is provided in the regular chapters of *Poverty Profile*. This data source is limited, however, in its coverage of the Aboriginal population in Canada. Furthermore, different types of information are needed to better describe the circumstances of Aboriginal peoples, which are unique and not well understood by most non-Aboriginal Canadians. For example, the fact that different Aboriginal peoples have different legal status is one result of the Indian Act of 1876, which required North American Indians to be registered and it continues to affect many aspects of social and economic life.

The Aboriginal chapter, therefore, looks different than the rest of *Poverty Profile* and much of the data will not be as current, having been taken from the 1996 Census and earlier sources. As this chapter was being written, new data were being collected through a new Aboriginal Peoples Survey. The results of this survey and data from the 2001 Census of Population will be available from Statistics Canada in about a year and the Council intends to use the new data for more in-depth research.

¹ For the purposes of this chapter, data are provided for the most part for persons who have self-identified as Aboriginal, including Indians, Inuit and Metis. This concept is consistent with the Council's mandate regarding equity and needs-based issues for low-income Canadians.

The National Council of Welfare hopes that this report will shed some light on poverty in Canada, a subject that is much discussed but little understood. Myths and stereotypes about poverty and the people who live in poverty, whether briefly or for many years, are deeply rooted in our society. We hope this report will help dispel these misconceptions and spur governments into using all the tools at their disposal to make it possible for all Canadians to share in the great bounty our country has to offer. Most importantly, we hope it will point governments toward their priorities for the new century: reducing the costs of poverty that affect all Canadians and investing our resources wisely to ensure a fairer opportunity for everyone to benefit from the prosperity Canada enjoys.

POVERTY IN CANADA: KEY PATTERNS AND TRENDS

GENERAL TRENDS, 1998 TO 1999

- In 1999, poverty rates for most families and individuals in Canada decreased. Poverty rates among all Canadians dropped by 0.7 percentage points from 16.9 percent in 1998 to 16.2 percent in 1999¹. Poverty rates for families similarly fell by 0.8 percentage points, from 13 percent to 12.2 percent. The poverty rate for unattached individuals also declined, by 0.5 percentage points from 39.4 percent in 1998 to 38.9 percent. The child poverty rate also improved by a bare 0.5 percentage points from 19.2 percent to 18.7 percent.
- However, few of the improvements in poverty levels approached the repeatedly strong performance of the Canadian economy for eight consecutive years, including the impressive national economic growth rate of nearly 5 percent between 1998 and 1999.
- Poverty rates actually worsened for some Canadians. The poverty rate for unattached senior women increased to 48.5 percent in 1999 by 0.6 percentage points from 47.9 percent; the poverty rate for couples under 65 without children under 18 moved up by 0.3 percentage points from 8.3 percent to 8.6 percent. Similarly, the poverty level among unattached men under 65 slightly increased by 0.2 percentage points from 33 percent to 33.2 percent.
- Single-parent fathers were the only group for whom improvement in the pre-tax poverty rate surpassed the national economic growth rate of 5 percent. Their poverty rate fell by 5.1 percentage points from 23.1 percent to 18 percent.
- For senior couples, the poverty rate decreased more moderately by 2.3 percentage points from 7 percent but reached a record low of 4.7 percent in 1999; for unattached women under 65, the poverty rate moved down by 1.3 percentage points from 43.6 percent to 42.3 percent; for single-parent mothers, the poverty rate decreased by 1.1 percentage points from 52.9 percent to 51.8 percent.

POVERTY LEVELS AND THE AVERAGE POVERTY RATE, 1999

- In 1999, there were 1,025,000 families and 1,677,000 unattached individuals living in poverty in Canada.
- The 1999 poverty rates for certain key groups, especially single-parents and unattached individuals of all ages were substantially higher than the average poverty levels among all Canadians. Couples had poverty rates lower than the average poverty rate of 12.2 percent for families and of 16.2 percent for individuals.
- In 1999, 51.8 percent of single-parent mothers, 38.9 percent of all unattached individuals, 42.3 percent of unattached women under 65, 33.2 percent of unattached men under 65,

¹ All measures here are based on pre-tax poverty lines. The effect of taking income tax into account varies across different populations. More information on post-tax rates is provided throughout the report.

48.5 percent of unattached senior women and 31.9 percent of unattached senior men were poor. The poverty rates among single-parent mothers and unattached women were more than four times higher than the 1999 average level for all Canadians; the poverty rates among unattached men of all ages were just slightly less than three times the average poverty rate.

HISTORICAL TRENDS, 1980-1999

- Whether or not poverty rates improved, stagnated, or worsened between 1998 and 1999, for most families and individuals pre-tax poverty rates were higher than historical levels. About a total of 4.9 million Canadians lived in poverty in 1999. This was more than one million or 26.2 percent more than in 1989, the last full year before the last recession.
- Even couples under 65 with or without children under 18 have been better off in the past than they were between 1998 and 1999. In 1989, the pre-tax poverty rate for couples with children was 8.5 percent—1.9 percentage points lower than their 1999 pre-tax poverty rate of 10.4 percent. For couples with no children under 18, the 1999 rate was a decline from the low of 6.7 percent set in 1980.
- The increase in the number of couples without children with incomes below 50 percent of the pre-tax poverty line, from 34,000 families in 1998 to 43,000 families, contrasts sharply with the comparatively low number of 27,000 couples without children living at less than 50 percent of the poverty line in 1989.
- Between 1993 and 1998, more than seven million Canadians had lived in poverty in one of the six years. More than a quarter, or about 2.2 million, were children under 18 years of age. Sixty-two percent, or about 4.6 million persons, were persons of working age, 18 to 64. About 1.1 million were youth aged 18 to 24 years.
- Over 1.5 million Canadians lived in long-term poverty for all six years from 1993 through 1998. More than 30 percent, or 459,000, of those who experienced this long duration of poverty were children under 18 years of age.

POVERTY AND GENDER

- Women's pre-tax poverty rates exceeded men's in almost all categories ranging from 9.1 percentage points among unattached individuals to 33.8 percentage points among single parents.
- In 1999, men's incomes exceeded women's on average by \$4,882 among unattached individuals under 65 years of age, by \$5,837 among unattached seniors and by \$18,258 among single parents.
- Among single parents, more than 70 percent of the men had incomes that exceeded 125 percent of the poverty line but fewer than 40 percent of the women had similar levels of income.

POVERTY AND CHILDREN

- In 1999, the child poverty rate was 18.7 percent. This was higher than both the poverty rate of 15.2 percent recorded in 1989 and than the 1999 average poverty rate of 16.2 percent. Moreover, in 1999, most Canadian poor families with children needed, on average, more than \$8,000 dollars before taxes and more than \$5,000 after taxes just to meet the poverty line.
- Tragically, children under six were the most likely of all age groups to have lived in poverty for all six years, from 1993 to 1998.

POVERTY AND IMMIGRANT OR MINORITY STATUS

- Between 1993 and 1998, immigrant visible minorities formed about 6 percent of the Canadian population. Yet about 42.5 percent of immigrant visible minorities lived in poverty in at least one year of the six-year period, compared to 29.5 percent of the total population. Moreover, 15.6 percent of immigrant visible minorities lived in poverty for all six years, compared to 5 percent of persons who are not visible minorities.
- Between 1993 and 1999, Aboriginal persons living off reserve comprised 0.9 percent of the Canadian population. Of these, 49.4 percent were among the more than seven million persons who lived in poverty in at least one of the six years. Furthermore, an estimated 12.6 percent of Aboriginal people living off reserve were among the more than 1.5 million persons who lived in long-term poverty between 1993 and 1998.

POVERTY AND EDUCATION

- The risk of poverty decreased with years of schooling and with family status. Single-parent mothers with no high school diploma had the highest poverty rate at 82.3 percent. Families where the major income earner had at least a university degree had a poverty rate of 6 percent.

- Although level of education and poverty rates are somewhat inversely related, education is not always a guarantee against poverty. Of the 1,025,000 families that were poor in 1999, 64.2 percent of the heads had a high school diploma or better; 52 percent of the 1,667,000 poor unattached individuals in 1999 had a high school diploma or better.

POVERTY AND LABOUR FORCE ATTACHMENT

- The poverty rate for unattached individuals under 65 years of age and for families declined as their weeks of work increased in 1999. Among unattached individuals, the poverty rate for persons with no paid work was 80.1 percent; the comparative figure was 18.4 percent for persons who worked 49 to 52 weeks. Similarly, among families, the poverty rate for those with no paid work was 56 percent. The comparative figure for families with 103 or more weeks of paid work, the equivalent of two full-year workers, was 3 percent.
- These figures show how important employment is but that being gainfully employed is far from a full insurance against poverty. More than 40 percent of the more than one million Canadian families living in poverty in 1999 were headed by persons who were employed. Single-parent mothers working full-time, full-year still had a poverty rate of 19.7 percent.

POVERTY AND SENIORS

- The poverty rate for seniors was practically halved, from 34 percent in 1980 to 17.7 percent in 1999, and by more than half for senior couples, from 17.5 percent in 1980 to a record low of 4.7 in 1999. The poverty rate among senior unattached women also dropped significantly from 70.1 percent in 1980 to 48.5 percent in 1999. In a similar vein, the poverty rate among senior men fell from 56.7 percent in 1980 to 31.9 percent in 1999. Still, the poverty rates for unattached seniors remains very high compared to couples. That the poverty rate for senior women actually worsened from 47.9 percent in 1998 to 48.5 percent is disturbing.

I. RECENT POVERTY TRENDS

In 1999, as in 1998, most poverty rates dropped slightly. However, they remained higher than they were in the years immediately before the 1990-1991 recession. There were over 4.8 million poor people in Canada in 1999. Of these, more than 1.3 million were children.

During the same period from 1998 to 1999, Canada's Gross Domestic Product grew from \$919.8 billion to \$966.4 billion—an increase of nearly 5 percent. If this real rate of economic growth were to be used as a yardstick, most Canadian poverty rates actually stagnated in 1999 as they had throughout the 1990s.

Notably, the poverty rate among children under 18 years of age fell by only 0.5 percentage points from 19.2 percent in 1998 to 18.7 percent in 1999. Similarly, poverty rates for persons under 65 years of age, especially single-parent mothers, young adults and students aged 18 to 24 years remained persistently high despite eight consecutive years of economic growth.

Poverty rates among seniors overall sustained a downward trend, falling from 19.7 percent in 1998 to 17.7 percent in 1999. Senior couples and unattached male seniors took the largest share of this decrease. For senior couples, the poverty rate decreased from 7 percent in 1998 to 4.7 percent in 1999; for senior unattached men, it decreased from 35.1 percent in 1998 to 31.9 percent in 1999.

In significant contrast to these downward trends, unattached senior women, whose poverty rate was already high at 47.9 percent in 1998, had an even higher rate of 48.5 percent in 1999.

This chapter presents major national trends in poverty rates from 1980 through 1999 using two approaches. The first looks at Canadians as individuals regardless of their family circumstances, the second looks at people by family type. For the most part, our historical analysis focuses mostly on pre-tax poverty rates. However, towards the end of the chapter, we compare different population groups on pre-tax and post-tax rates as well.

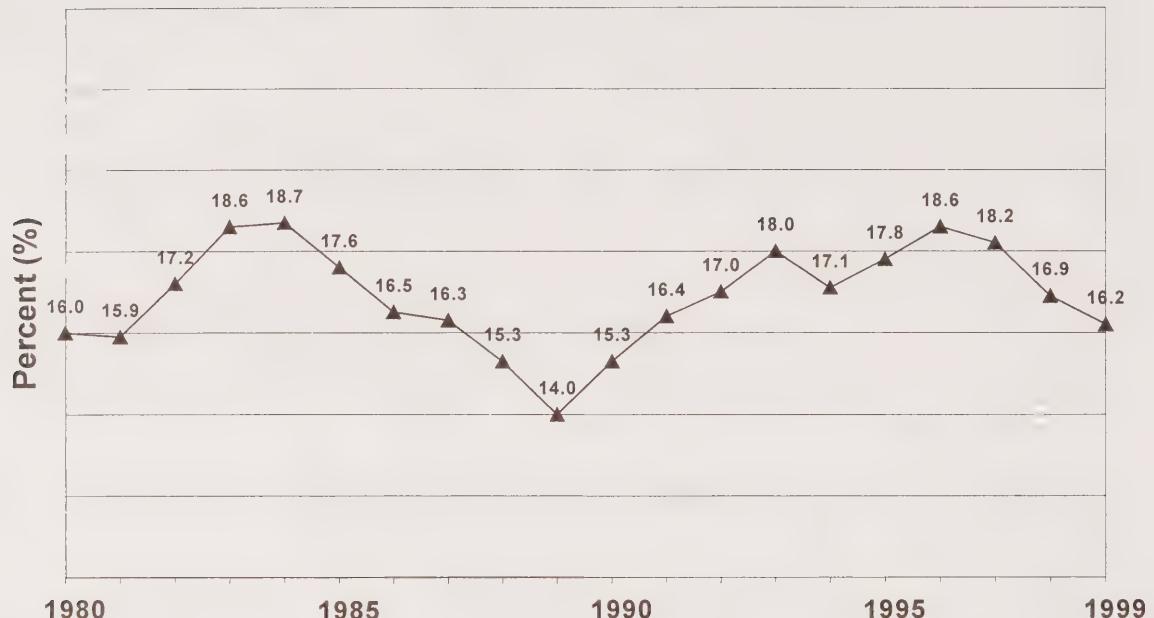
ALL INDIVIDUALS

One way to examine poverty is to look at the number of individuals who are living in poverty. Figure 1.1 presents the poverty rate for each year from 1980 to 1999. Tables at the end of the chapter provide additional detail on the number of poor people and the total population in question. Table 1.11 presents the total number of poor people in Canada and the total population, as well as poverty rates from 1980 to 1999.

In 1980, the poverty rate was 16 percent and about 3.9 million persons were poor. Following the recession of 1981-1982, the number of poor people rose to about 4.7 million and the poverty rate peaked at 18.7 per cent in 1984—a record high for the entire two decades that ran from 1980 to 1999. Subsequently, in 1989, the number of poor persons dropped to about 3.8 million and the poverty rate decreased to 14 percent. The latter was the record low for the two decades from 1980 to 1999.

However, by 1993, the poverty rate had risen up to 18 percent and the number of poor people had climbed to more than five million. By 1996, the poverty rate hit 18.6 percent and poor people numbered about 5.5 million.

**Figure 1.1: Poverty Rates for All Persons,
1980-1999**

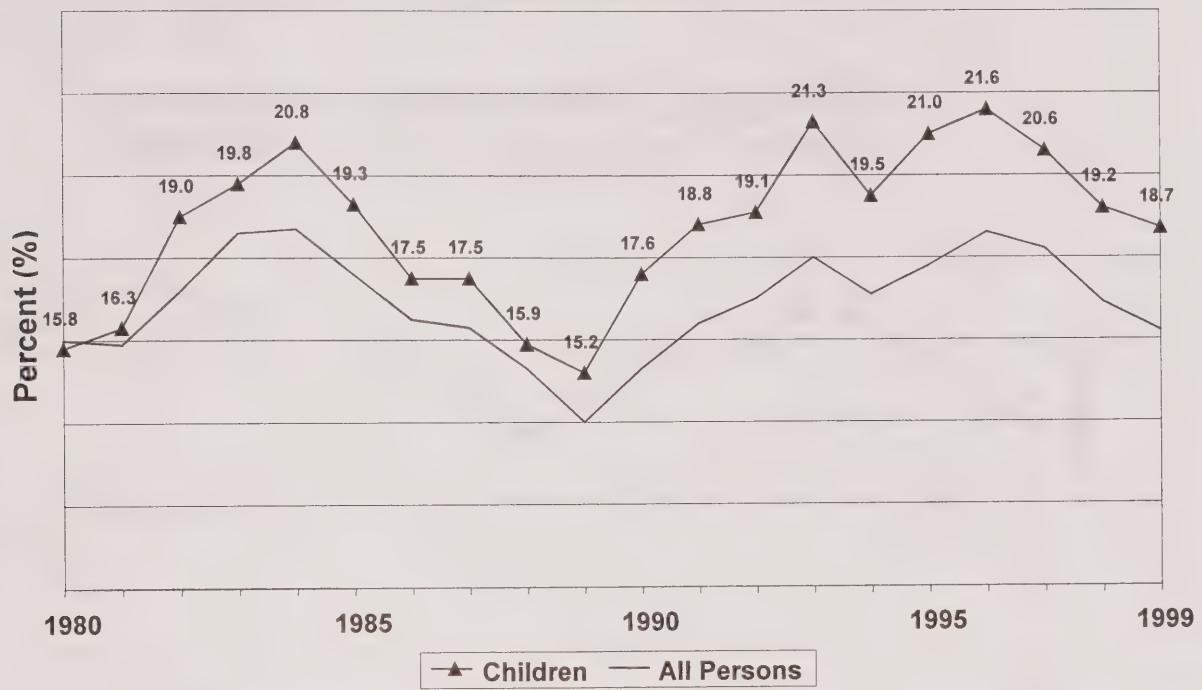


A new downward trend began in 1997 when the poverty rate was 18.2 percent and there were 5.1 million poor persons. A three-year decline and a poverty rate of 16.2 percent among poor persons in 1999 represent a sustained improvement for the first time since the late mid-80s. But this rate is still higher than it was at the beginning of the 90s. There were about 0.7 million more poor people in 1999 at the close of the decade than in 1990.

CILDREN

Child poverty rates followed a similar trend as Figure 1.2 demonstrates (see also Table 1.12). In the 1980s, both the child poverty rate and number of poor children rose with the recession of 1981-1982. The two figures peaked in 1984. They then declined for the rest of the 1980s. In 1989, when the House of Commons passed a unanimous resolution to eliminate child poverty by 2000, there were about one million poor children and the child poverty rate was 15.2 percent.

Figure 1.2: Poverty Rates for Children, 1980-1999



The recession of 1990-1991 drove child poverty up once again. It spiked at 21.3 percent in 1993, when nearly 1.5 million children lived in poverty. It peaked at 21.6 percent in 1996 when more than 1.5 million children were poor. A modest decline in both the number of poor children and the child poverty rate began in 1997 and continued in 1999. In 1997, over 1.4 million children lived in poverty and the poverty rate was 20.6 percent. In 1999, the child poverty rate fell to 18.7 percent, representing about 1.3 million children.

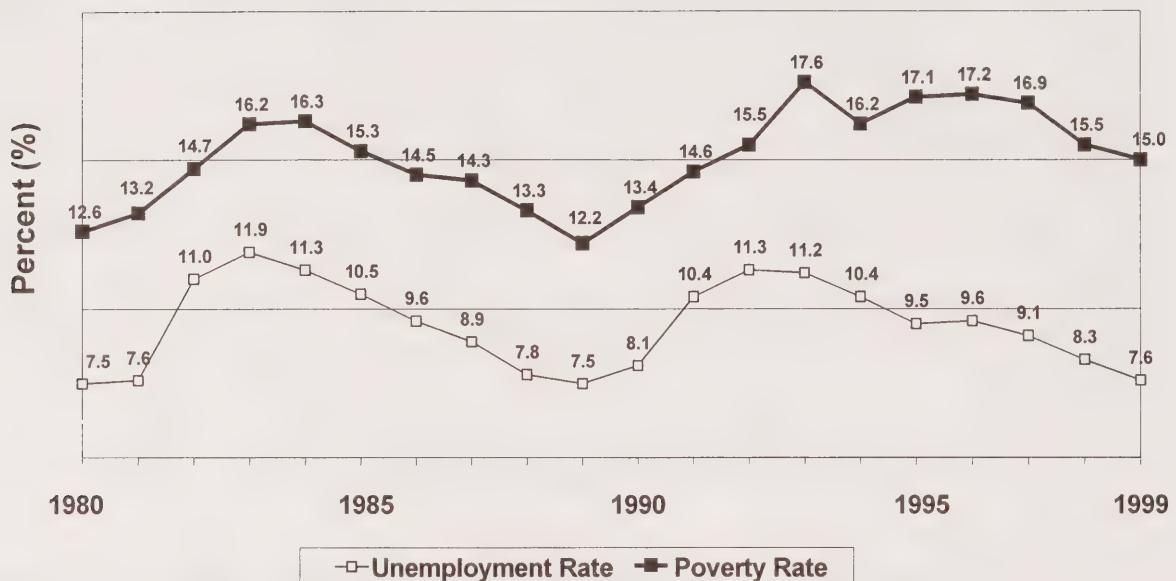
The 1999 child poverty rate, however, still exceeded that of 1989 by 3.5 percentage points. Had the 1989 parliamentary resolution against child poverty been taken seriously, the difference between the 1989 and 1999 child poverty rates should have been higher and reversed.

ADULTS AGED 18 TO 64 YEARS

Children are poor because their parents are poor, and a lack of good jobs is one of the main reasons for poverty among parents. The poverty rates for adults under age 65 tend to move up and down in line with changes in the unemployment rate. However, the link between changes in the unemployment rate and changes in the poverty rate was weaker during the 1990s than during the 1980s. Compared to the 1980s, poverty rates in the 1990s did not fall as rapidly as unemployment rates.

Figure 1.3 shows the average annual unemployment rate for people 15 and older and the poverty rate for people aged 18 to 64, the group most likely to be in the labour force. In 1999, the unemployment rate was 7.6 percent and the poverty rate was 15.2 percent.

Figure 1.3: Unemployment and Poverty Among Working-Age People, 1980-1999



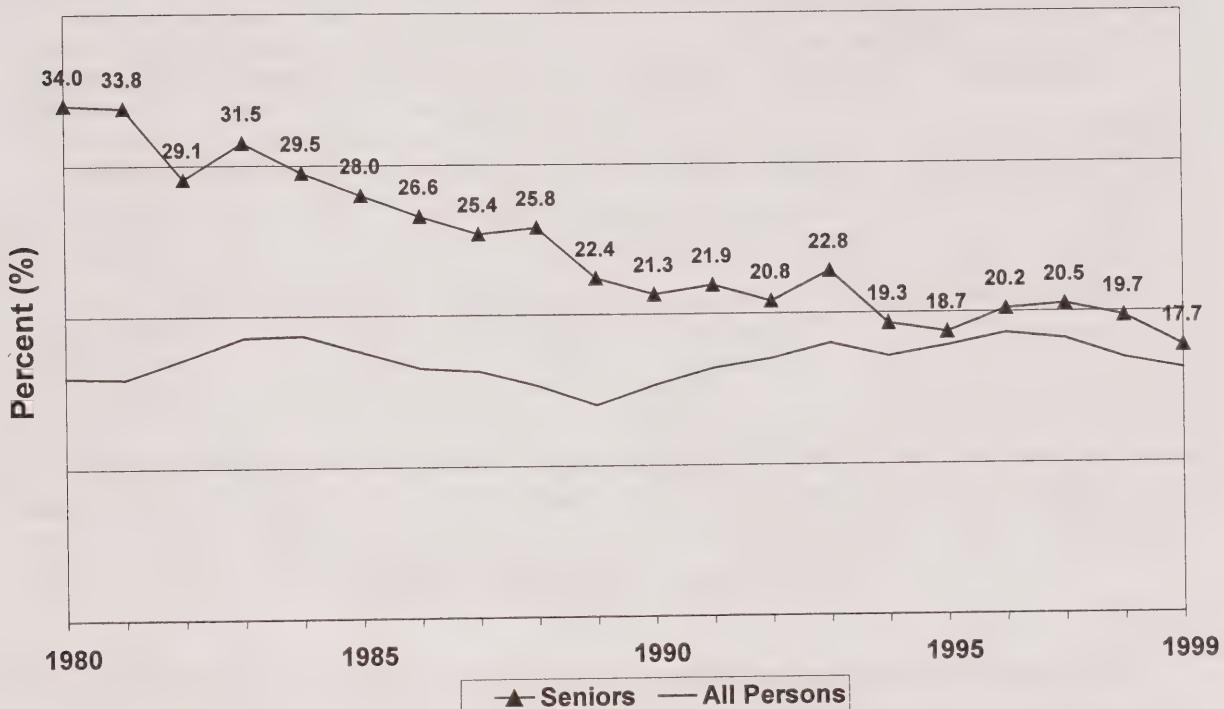
Until 1993, the unemployment rate and the poverty rate moved together. As the unemployment rate increased, the poverty rate increased and as the unemployment rate fell, the poverty rate fell. In the recovery from the 1990-1991 recession, the pattern changed. The unemployment rate steadily decreased, but the poverty rate was stickier. In fact, the poverty rate for adults under age 65 actually increased slightly. It was only between 1998 and 1999, after a downward trend in the unemployment rate over six years, that the poverty rate for working age people decreased first to 15.5 percent in 1998 and then to 15.1 percent in 1999. The post-1991 cycle of economic growth appears to be bypassing many people at the lower end of the income scale.

SENIORS

Most seniors are not in the labour force; consequently, they are relatively unaffected by high unemployment rates. The poverty rates for people 65 and older are more a reflection of the effectiveness of public and private pension programs than of the state of the economy in any given year.

While the total number of seniors increased by 68 percent between 1980 and 1999, the number of seniors who lived in poverty fell by 15 percent. In 1980, about 742,000 seniors lived in poverty compared to about 646,000 seniors in 1999 (see Table 1.13). As Figure 1.4 below shows, the poverty rate for seniors dropped sharply from 34 percent in 1980 to 17.7 percent in 1999.

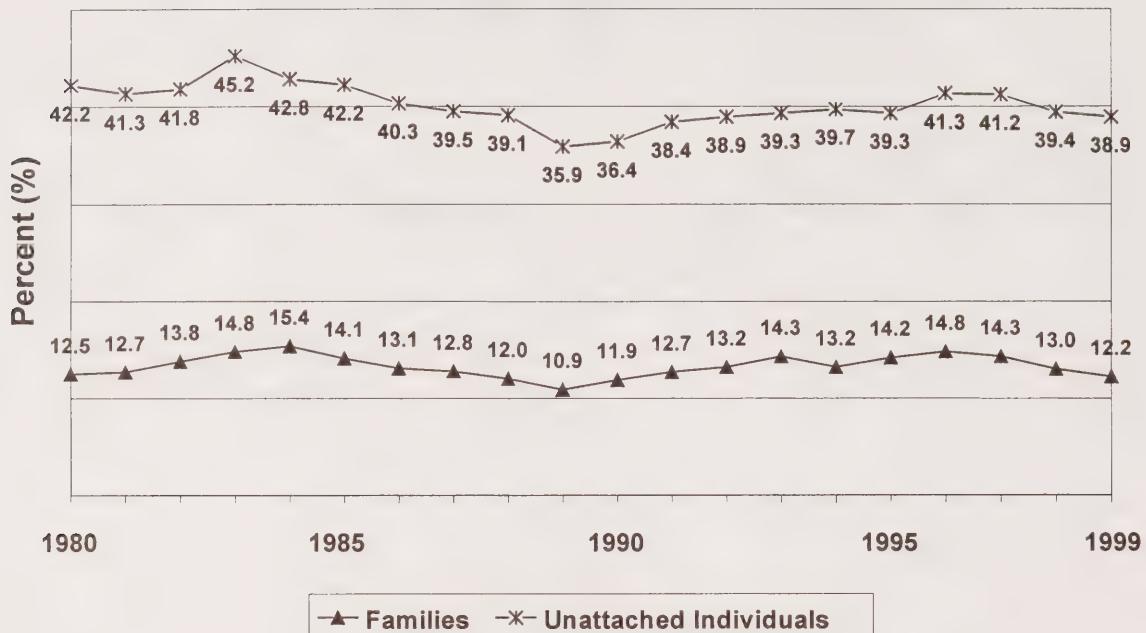
Figure 1.4: Poverty Rates for Seniors, 1980-1999



Government programs and policies dating back to the 1960s were largely responsible for the improvement in the poverty rate among seniors. Among the more important steps in decreasing poverty for seniors was the creation of the federal government's Old Age Security (OAS) program plus the Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS) for low-income seniors as well as the creation of the Canada Pension Plan (CPP) and Quebec Pension Plan (QPP) in 1966. The CPP and QPP were the result of co-operation between the federal and provincial governments to make sure workers put away a modest amount of money every year for their retirement. The CPP still operates as a partnership between the two levels of government. There are indications however that some senior Canadians may face barriers that prevent them from taking full advantage of these programs. For example, a recent C.D. Howe study found that more than 380,000 low-income seniors potentially eligible for the GIS had not

applied¹. These people could be a substantial portion of the 646,000 seniors living in poverty in 1999.

Figure 1.5: Poverty Rates for Families and Unattached Individuals, 1980-1999



POVERTY TRENDS FOR FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS

While the poverty statistics for all persons give a good overview of poverty, it is often more revealing to look at poor people in terms of families and unattached individuals as shown in Figure 1.5 and Tables 1.14 and 1.15. Poverty rates for unattached people are normally two to three times higher than the rates for families. In 1999, the poverty rate for unattached individuals was 38.9 percent while the rate for families was 12.2 percent—a ratio of 3.2 to one.

The main reason families have consistently lower poverty rates than unattached individuals is that they often have a second family member in the paid labour force, either on a part-time or a full-time basis. They are also able to take advantage of economies of scale by sharing housing and other goods and services.

¹ Shillington, Richard, C. D. Howe Institute, "The Dark Side of Targeting: Retirement Savings for Low-Income Canadians" in *The Pension Papers* (1999). See also *The Guaranteed Income Supplement: The Duty to Reach All*, Report of the Standing Committee on Human Resources Development and the Status of Persons with Disabilities (2001).

The percentage of younger married couples with both spouses in the work force has grown dramatically during the last generation, and two-earner couples now far outnumber one-earner couples. Increasingly, older couples are made up of spouses who both had employment outside the home. Such former dual-earner couples both get pension benefits from the CPP or the QPP and the OAS in their own right. One or both may also have private pensions.

An even better view of poverty comes by breaking down families and unattached individuals into their major sub-categories. Four main types of families accounted for roughly 80 percent of all poor families in 1999: couples where the head of the family is 65 or older; couples under 65 with children under 18; couples under 65 without children under 18; and single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18.

Less common family types made up the remaining 20 percent of poor families in 1999, including single-parent fathers with children under 18, brothers and sisters or other relatives who lived together and same-sex couples. In many cases, sample sizes from Statistics Canada surveys are too small for us to provide information on these less common family types.

Unattached individuals comprise four categories: men under 65; men 65 and older; women under 65; and women 65 and older.

The weight of a second wage-earner or second source of pension income becomes obvious from the poverty statistics for the four different types of families. The statistics also reveal the additional impact of parental responsibilities. The poverty rates for families headed by single-parent mothers have, over time, been five to six times higher on average than the poverty rates for couples with or without children (for details on the numbers of families in each category and poverty rates, see Tables 1.16, 1.17, 1.18 and 1.19).

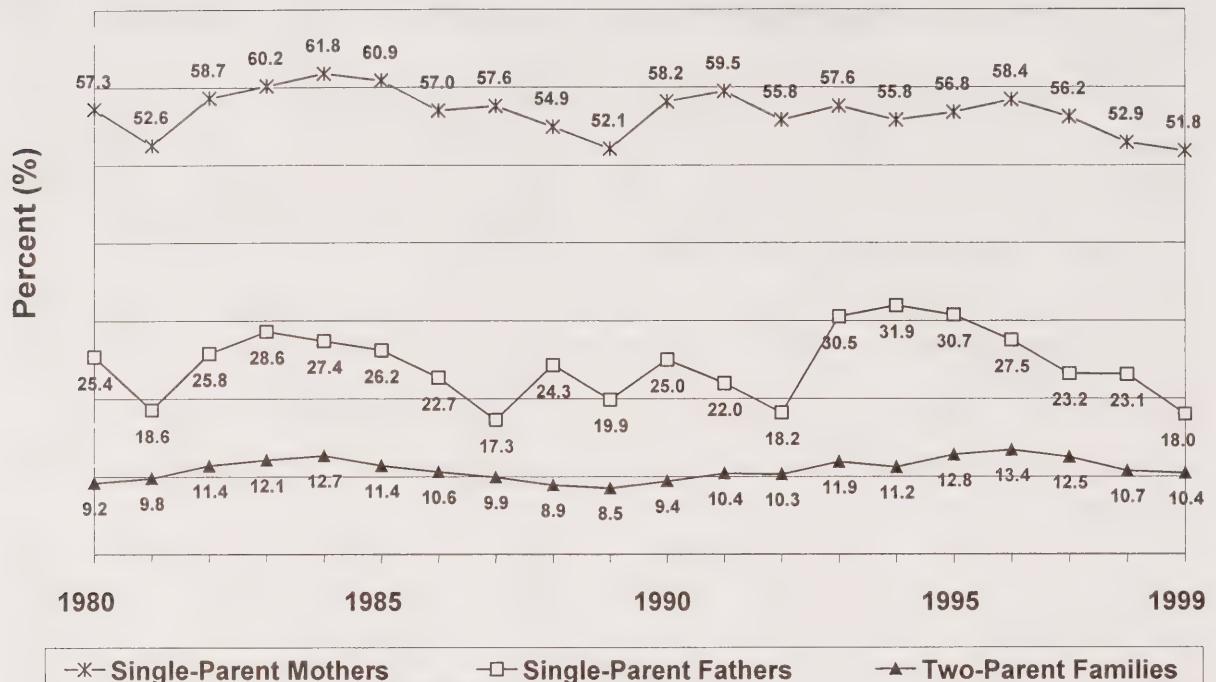
FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN

Figure 1.6 shows clearly how much more vulnerable to poverty single-mother families are compared to single-father and two-parent families.

Both the number of poor couples with children and the poverty rate rose and fell with the overall state of the economy from 1980 through the early 1990s. The two figures got stuck at relatively high levels through the mid-1990s. In 1999, the number of poor couples with children and the poverty rate dropped to the lowest levels since 1992. There were 321,000 poor couples under 65 with children under 18 in 1999, and the poverty rate was 10.4 percent. Nonetheless, these figures were still above the pre-recession lows set in 1989, when there were 260,000 poor couples under 65 with children and the poverty rate was 8.5 percent.

The total number of couples with children (both poor and non-poor couples) barely changed at all between 1980 and 1999. In contrast, the total number of single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 grew significantly from 360,000 in 1980 to 570,000 in 1999.

Figure 1.6: Poverty Rates for Families with Children, 1980-1999



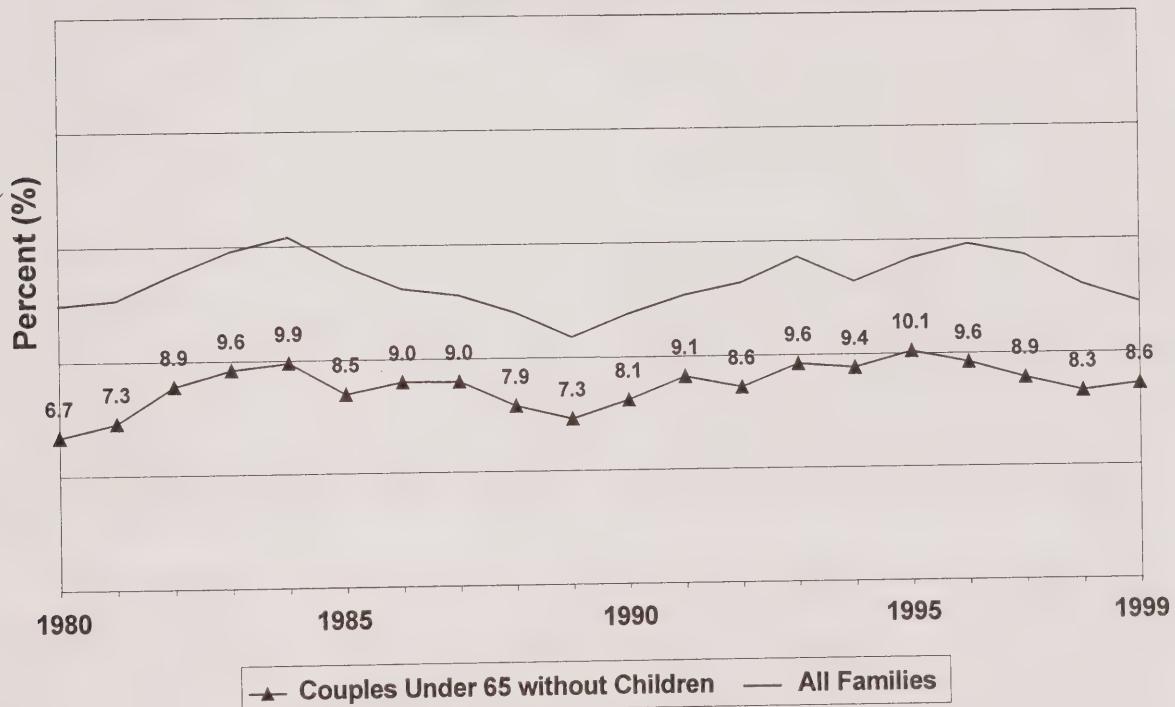
The rise in unattached parenthood among mothers was matched by a rise in the number of single-parent mothers living in poverty. During the recession in the early 1980s, the number of poor single-parent mothers increased slowly along with the total number of single-parent mothers. In the recovery from this recession, the number of poor single-parent mothers declined.

Following the 1990-1991 recession, the annual numbers of single-parent mothers jumped, increasing from 238,000 in 1989 to 351,000 in 1993, the highest number in the 1980-99 period. That year also saw the highest number of single-parent mothers overall at 610,000. The number of unattached mothers has gone up and down since then, sitting at 570,000 in 1999, a small decrease from 1998. The number living in poverty has decreased each year from 1997 to 1999.

Poverty rates for families headed by single-parent mothers have remained unacceptably high over the past two decades. Between 1980 and 1999, the poverty rate fluctuated between 51.8 percent and 61.8 percent. Continuing a steady improvement since 1997, the 1999 poverty rate of 51.8 percent represented the lowest rate for single-parent mothers. However, single-mother families were the only family type with a majority of its members still living below the poverty line in 1999.

From 1980 to 1999, poverty rates for single-parent fathers² were higher than for couples with children but lower than for single-parent mothers. As with single-parent mothers, the number of single-parent fathers also rose, almost doubling from 57,000 in 1980 to 108,000 in 1999. The ratio of single-parent mothers to single-parent fathers in 1999 was 2.7 to one, much lower than the ratio of 3.6 to one in 1980 but still quite high. The disparity in the poverty rates of the two groups is also greater. In 1980, the poverty rate was 57.3 percent among single-parent mothers but only 25.4 percent among single-parent fathers. In 1999, the poverty rate among single-parent fathers had declined to 18 percent while the rate for single-parent mothers was at 51.8 percent.

Figure 1.7: Poverty Rates for Couples Under 65 without Children, 1980-1999



FAMILIES WITHOUT CHILDREN

In recent years, the patterns of poverty among couples without children were strikingly different for couples under age 65 and senior couples. Tables 1.19 and 1.20 give details for the years 1980 through 1999.

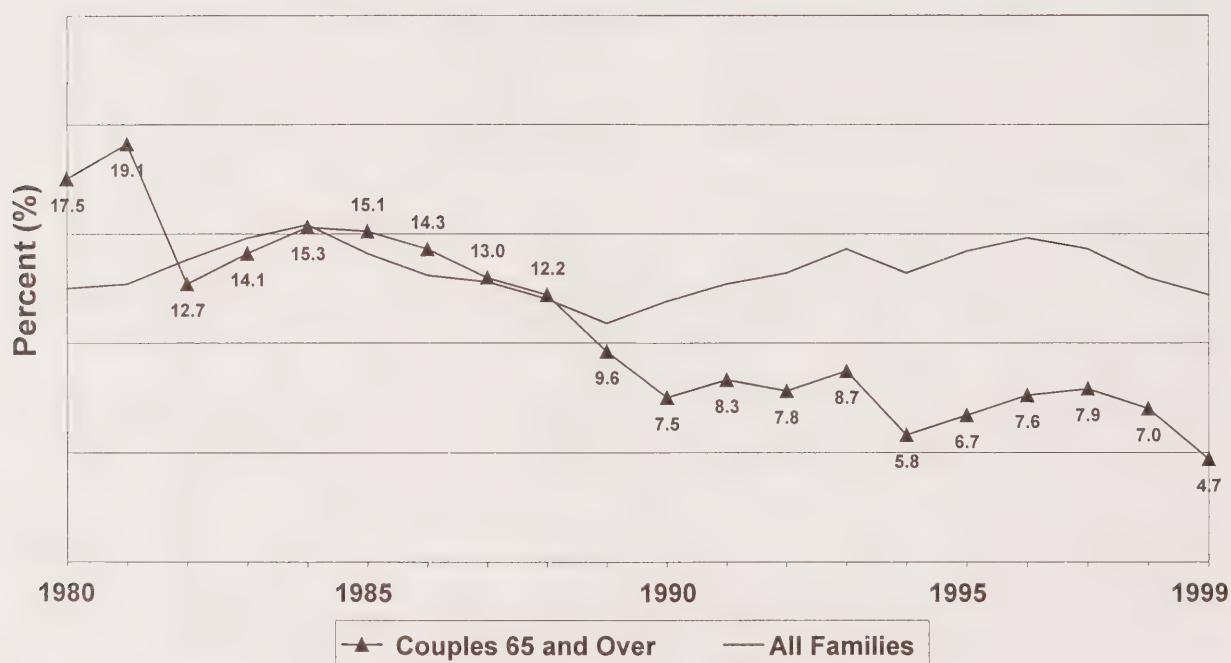
Over the years, the total number of couples under 65 without children gradually rose. The number of poor couples without children was also higher in the 1990s than it was in the 1980s. Between 1998 and 1999, there were 18,000 fewer poor couples over the age of 65—a

² Note that information related to single-parent fathers throughout the document must be interpreted with some caution given the very small numbers of this family type.

drop of 2.3 percentage points in the poverty rate for senior couples from 7 percent in 1998 to 4.7 percent in 1999. However, the proportion of couples without children increased from 8.3 percent in 1998 to 8.6 percent in 1999. The lowest poverty rate for couples under 65 without children was last recorded at 6.7 percent in 1980.

The total number of couples aged 65 without children and older also rose between 1980 and 1999. However, both the number of poor senior couples and the poverty rate among senior couples dropped sharply. There were 646,000 poor senior couples in 1999. In 1980 there were 742,000 poor senior couples. Between 1980 and 1999, the poverty rate among senior couples was reduced to 4.7 percent from 17.5 percent.

Figure 1.8: Poverty Rates for Couples 65 and Over, 1980-1999

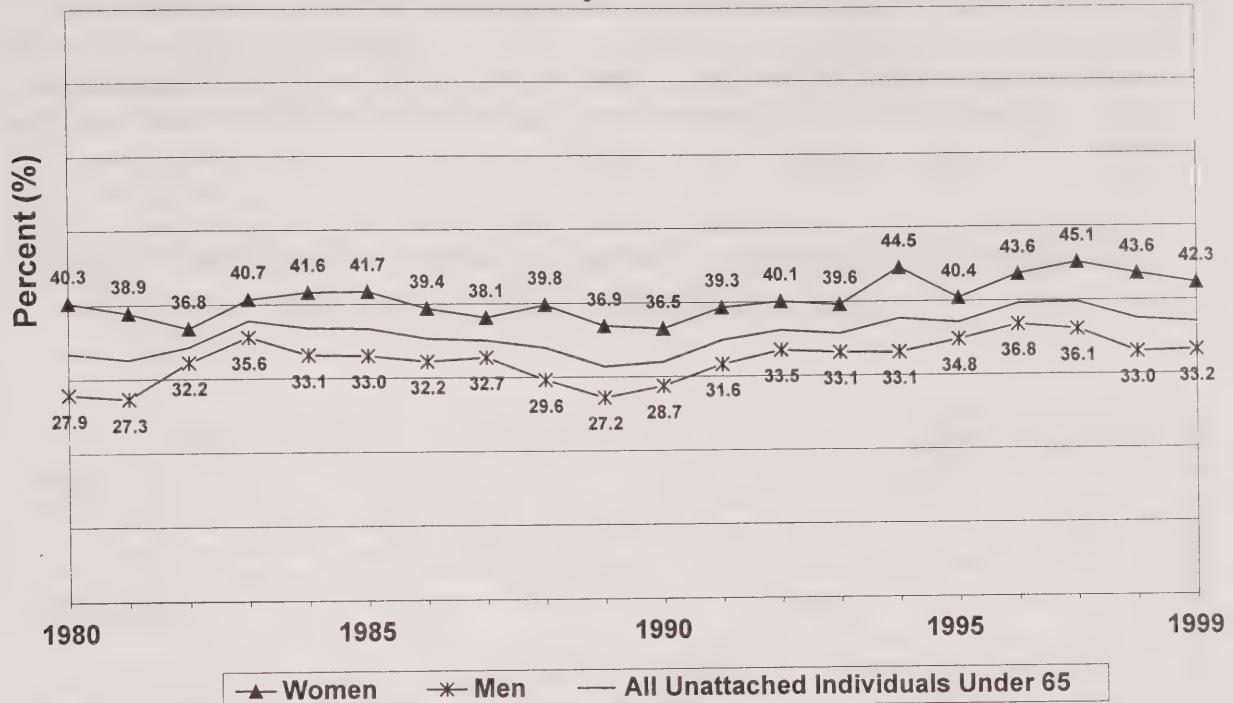


UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS

From the 1980s through the 1990s, poverty statistics varied greatly between unattached women and unattached men. There were also age-related differences between unattached seniors and unattached persons aged less than 65 years. Generally, unattached men had lower poverty rates than unattached women; seniors had lower poverty rates than persons aged less than 65 years.

All sub-categories of unattached individuals had poverty rates that are substantially higher than the rates for married couples. However, the poverty rates for unattached persons hardly approached the very high rates for households led by single-parent mothers.

Figure 1.9: Poverty Rates for Unattached Individuals Under 65, by Sex, 1980-1999



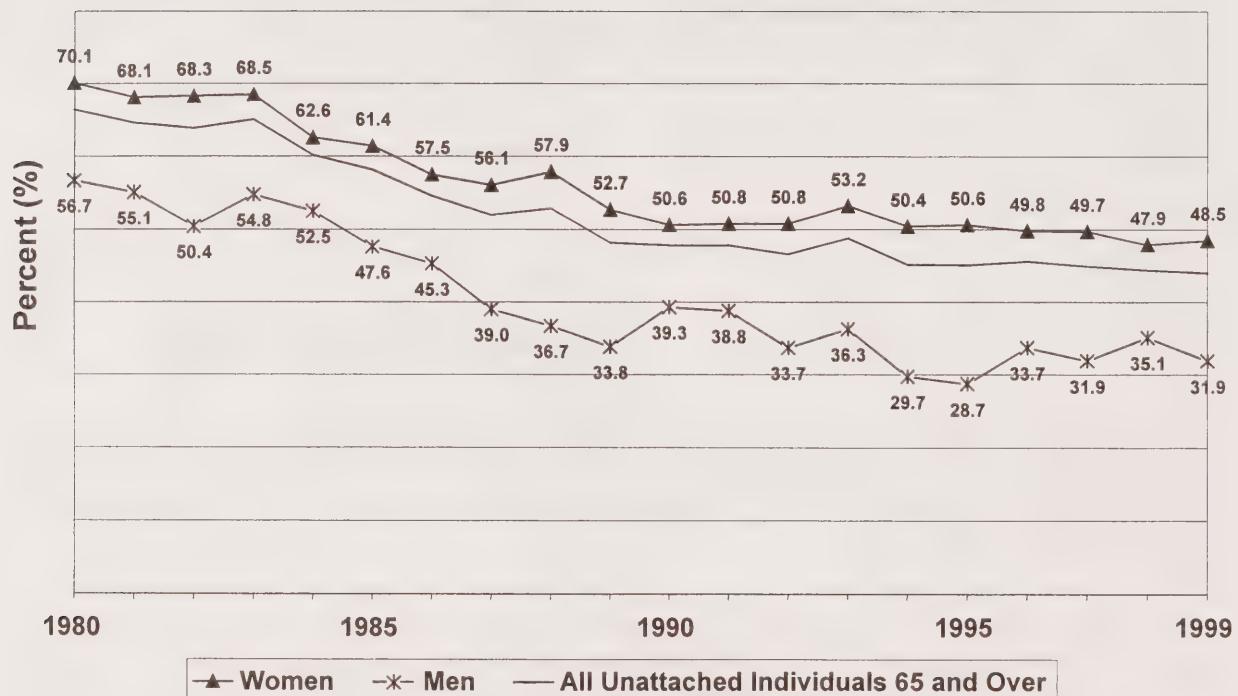
Figures 1.9 and 1.10 portray trends in poverty among unattached men and women. The poverty rates for individuals under 65 tended to rise and fall with unemployment rates until the years following the 1990-1991 recession. In contrast, the rates for older individuals fell more or less steadily.

The poverty rate for women under 65 was 40.3 percent in 1980 and 42.3 percent in 1999. The comparable rates for men were 27.9 percent and 33.2 percent. The gap between women and men was largest in 1980 at 12.4 percentage points. It was smallest in 1982 at 4.6 percentage points. Between 1998 and 1999, the poverty rate for men increased by 0.2 percentage points; however, the poverty rate for women fell by 1.3 percent. Nonetheless, the gap between men and women in 1999 was high at 9.1 percentage points.

For unattached people 65 and older, the poverty rate for women went from 70.1 percent in 1980 to a record low of 47.9 percent in 1998. However, it then increased slightly by 0.6 percentage points from 47.9 percent in 1998 to 48.5 percent in 1999. The rate for senior men dropped from 56.7 percent in 1980 to 31.9 percent in 1999.

The lowest poverty rate among unattached senior men was in 1995 at 28.7 percent. The gap between senior men and senior women was highest in 1995 at 21.9 percentage points. At that point, the poverty rate was 28.7 percent among men, compared to 50.6 percent among women. The gap between the two groups was smallest in 1984 at 10.1 percentage points. In 1984, the poverty rate was 52.5 percent among senior men and 62.6 percent among senior women.

Figure 1.10: Poverty Rates for Unattached Individuals 65 and Over, by Sex, 1980-1999



1999 PRE-TAX AND POST-TAX POVERTY RATES

Across all family types, the income tax system had a moderating effect on pre-tax poverty rates. This is because a progressive tax system taxes those with higher incomes at a higher rate. Families and individuals who are most likely to move above the poverty line using post-tax measures are those who have incomes very close to the pre-tax poverty line. A lower post-tax poverty rate does not mean that people below the pre-tax poverty line have any more income. In fact, even very poor people usually pay tax, as we will show in more detail in later chapters. A lower post-tax poverty rate means that non-poor people have paid proportionally more tax so the relative position changes.

While the poverty rate for virtually every family type was lower after taxes, there was a larger impact for some family types than for others. Tables 1.23 through 1.25 give the pre-tax and post-tax rates for the diverse family groups.

ALL PERSONS

The difference in pre-tax and post-tax poverty rates for all Canadians was modest. After taxes, the poverty rate was 4.4 percentage points lower at 11.8 percent, meaning that in 1999, there were about 1.3 million fewer persons considered poor. Among the different categories of individuals, seniors had the largest difference in poverty rates after taxes were considered. The post-tax poverty rate of all seniors was 8.2 percent, 9.5 percent lower than the pre-tax poverty rate of 17.7 percent. The difference in poverty rates for children was more modest. The child poverty rate was lower by 4.8 percentage points, at 13.9 percent.

Generally, unattached individuals saw a greater post-tax impact on their poverty rates than did families. The post-tax poverty rate for unattached individuals was lower by 9 percentage points at 29.9 percent. In contrast, the post-tax poverty rate for all families was lower only by 3.6 percentage points at 8.6 percent.

FAMILIES

Among families with children, single-parent mothers saw the largest post-tax impact on their poverty rates at 10.5 percentage points (51.8 percent to 41.3 percent). They still, however, had the highest poverty rate of all family types. Single-parent fathers had a post-tax poverty rate of 13.5 percent, 4.5 percentage points lower than the pre-tax rate. Couples under 65 saw the least reduction in poverty rates but they had the lowest poverty rate among families with children. Their pre-tax poverty rate was 10.4 percent, compared to a post-tax rate of 7.3 percent.

Couples under 65 years with no children saw a change of 2.5 percentage points in their poverty rate from 8.6 percent before taxes to 6.1 percent after taxes. However, among families whose heads were under 65 years of age, they had the lowest pre-tax and post-tax poverty rates.

UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS

Among unattached persons, seniors saw the largest post-tax impact on their poverty rates with a 22.3 percentage point difference between the pre-tax rate of 44 percent and the post-tax poverty rate of 21.7 percent. Women seniors saw an even larger impact of 24.9 percentage points from 48.5 percent to 23.6 percent. In contrast, the impact for unattached senior men was 15.3 percentage points to a post-tax rate of 16.6 percent from a pre-tax rate of 31.9 percent. Nonetheless, the post-tax poverty rate was still higher among senior women than among senior men and poor senior women outnumbered poor senior men by a ratio of about four to one.

For unattached women under 65, the post-tax poverty rate was lower by 4.5 percentage points compared to 3.6 percentage points for unattached men under 65. However, after taxes, the poverty rate among women at 37.8 percent was still higher than the poverty rate of 29.6 percent among men.

TABLE 1.11: POVERTY TRENDS, ALL PERSONS,
1980-1999

	Poor Persons	All Persons	Poverty Rate (%)
1980	3,871,000	24,135,000	16.0%
1981	3,914,000	24,579,000	15.9%
1982	4,269,000	24,838,000	17.2%
1983	4,660,000	25,062,000	18.6%
1984	4,745,000	25,319,000	18.7%
1985	4,499,000	25,564,000	17.6%
1986	4,258,000	25,829,000	16.5%
1987	4,254,000	26,142,000	16.3%
1988	4,040,000	26,475,000	15.3%
1989	3,771,000	26,847,000	14.0%
1990	4,181,000	27,260,000	15.3%
1991	4,545,000	27,682,000	16.4%
1992	4,767,000	28,119,000	17.0%
1993	5,143,000	28,530,000	18.0%
1994	4,941,000	28,867,000	17.1%
1995	5,205,000	29,197,000	17.8%
1996	5,481,000	29,415,000	18.6%
1997	5,415,000	29,730,000	18.2%
1998	5,055,000	29,994,000	16.9%
1999	4,886,000	30,249,000	16.2%

Using 1992 base pre-tax low income cut-offs.

TABLE 1.12: POVERTY TRENDS, CHILDREN
UNDER 18, 1980-1999

	Poor Children	All Children	Poverty Rate (%)
1980	1,061,000	6,713,000	15.8%
1981	1,091,000	6,701,000	16.3%
1982	1,259,000	6,626,000	19.0%
1983	1,299,000	6,570,000	19.8%
1984	1,364,000	6,543,000	20.8%
1985	1,261,000	6,524,000	19.3%
1986	1,149,000	6,562,000	17.5%
1987	1,151,000	6,573,000	17.5%
1988	1,054,000	6,618,000	15.9%
1989	1,016,000	6,680,000	15.2%
1990	1,195,000	6,773,000	17.6%
1991	1,282,000	6,833,000	18.8%
1992	1,317,000	6,911,000	19.1%
1993	1,484,000	6,956,000	21.3%
1994	1,362,000	6,997,000	19.5%
1995	1,472,000	7,012,000	21.0%
1996	1,533,000	7,095,000	21.6%
1997	1,459,000	7,081,000	20.6%
1998	1,353,000	7,052,000	19.2%
1999	1,313,000	7,028,000	18.7%

TABLE 1.13: POVERTY TRENDS, PEOPLE 65 AND OVER, 1980-1999

	Poor Seniors	All Seniors	Poverty Rate (%)
1980	742,000	2,180,000	34.0%
1981	757,000	2,241,000	33.8%
1982	668,000	2,294,000	29.1%
1983	741,000	2,351,000	31.5%
1984	716,000	2,427,000	29.5%
1985	703,000	2,508,000	28.0%
1986	692,000	2,601,000	26.6%
1987	681,000	2,683,000	25.4%
1988	714,000	2,768,000	25.8%
1989	640,000	2,856,000	22.4%
1990	629,000	2,947,000	21.3%
1991	665,000	3,036,000	21.9%
1992	650,000	3,128,000	20.8%
1993	732,000	3,211,000	22.8%
1994	635,000	3,297,000	19.3%
1995	631,000	3,379,000	18.7%
1996	697,000	3,446,000	20.2%
1997	724,000	3,529,000	20.5%
1998	710,000	3,599,000	19.7%
1999	646,000	3,659,000	17.7%

Using 1992 base pre-tax low income cut-offs.

TABLE 1.14: POVERTY TRENDS, FAMILIES, 1980-1999

		Poor Families	All Families	Poverty Rate (%)
	1980	815,000	6,500,000	12.5%
	1981	842,000	6,654,000	12.7%
	1982	935,000	6,786,000	13.8%
	1983	1,008,000	6,818,000	14.8%
	1984	1,079,000	7,012,000	15.4%
	1985	998,000	7,098,000	14.1%
	1986	938,000	7,171,000	13.1%
	1987	927,000	7,251,000	12.8%
	1988	888,000	7,414,000	12.0%
	1989	820,000	7,516,000	10.9%
	1990	910,000	7,621,000	11.9%
	1991	977,000	7,697,000	12.7%
	1992	1,051,000	7,938,000	13.2%
	1993	1,143,000	7,981,000	14.3%
	1994	1,072,000	8,102,000	13.2%
	1995	1,173,000	8,257,000	14.2%
	1996	1,216,000	8,190,000	14.8%
	1997	1,182,000	8,252,000	14.3%
	1998	1,082,000	8,296,000	13.0%
	1999	1,025,000	8,406,000	12.2%

TABLE 1.15: POVERTY TRENDS, UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS, 1980-1999

	Poor Unattached Individuals	All Unattached Individuals	Poverty Rate (%)
1980	1,118,000	2,653,000	42.2%
1981	1,120,000	2,712,000	41.3%
1982	1,130,000	2,703,000	41.8%
1983	1,295,000	2,866,000	45.2%
1984	1,218,000	2,846,000	42.8%
1985	1,258,000	2,983,000	42.2%
1986	1,245,000	3,092,000	40.3%
1987	1,290,000	3,270,000	39.5%
1988	1,296,000	3,315,000	39.1%
1989	1,206,000	3,358,000	35.9%
1990	1,279,000	3,518,000	36.4%
1991	1,408,000	3,671,000	38.4%
1992	1,425,000	3,658,000	38.9%
1993	1,500,000	3,814,000	39.3%
1994	1,525,000	3,836,000	39.7%
1995	1,521,000	3,871,000	39.3%
1996	1,644,000	3,982,000	41.3%
1997	1,696,000	4,111,000	41.2%
1998	1,676,000	4,256,000	39.4%
1999	1,667,000	4,279,000	38.9%

Using 1992 base pre-tax low income cut-offs.

TABLE 1.16: POVERTY TRENDS, COUPLES UNDER 65 WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18, 1980-1999

	Poor Unattached Individuals	All Unattached Individuals	Poverty Rate (%)	Poor Couples Under 65 with Children	All Couples Under 65 with Children	Poverty Rate (%)
1980	1980	283,000	3,073,000	9.2%		
1981	1981	302,000	3,089,000	9.8%		
1982	1982	349,000	3,060,000	11.4%		
1983	1983	373,000	3,068,000	12.1%		
1984	1984	381,000	3,009,000	12.7%		
1985	1985	346,000	3,027,000	11.4%		
1986	1986	323,000	3,054,000	10.6%		
1987	1987	300,000	3,018,000	9.9%		
1988	1988	273,000	3,070,000	8.9%		
1989	1989	260,000	3,070,000	8.5%		
1990	1990	289,000	3,070,000	9.4%		
1991	1991	320,000	3,071,000	10.4%		
1992	1992	314,000	3,059,000	10.3%		
1993	1993	366,000	3,064,000	11.9%		
1994	1994	346,000	3,091,000	11.2%		
1995	1995	402,000	3,135,000	12.8%		
1996	1996	421,000	3,137,000	13.4%		
1997	1997	390,000	3,125,000	12.5%		
1998	1998	327,000	3,062,000	10.7%		
1999	1999	321,000	3,076,000	10.4%		

TABLE 1.17: POVERTY TRENDS, SINGLE-PARENT
MOTHERS UNDER 65 WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18,
1980-1999

	Poor Single-Parent Mothers Under 65	All Single-Parent Mothers Under 65	Poverty Rate (%)
1980	206,000	360,000	57.3%
1981	187,000	354,000	52.6%
1982	228,000	389,000	58.7%
1983	233,000	387,000	60.2%
1984	264,000	427,000	61.8%
1985	253,000	416,000	60.9%
1986	230,000	403,000	57.0%
1987	243,000	423,000	57.6%
1988	244,000	444,000	54.9%
1989	238,000	457,000	52.1%
1990	283,000	486,000	58.2%
1991	296,000	497,000	59.5%
1992	337,000	604,000	55.8%
1993	351,000	610,000	57.6%
1994	309,000	554,000	55.8%
1995	321,000	565,000	56.8%
1996	328,000	563,000	58.4%
1997	311,000	553,000	56.2%
1998	307,000	580,000	52.9%
1999	295,000	570,000	51.8%

Using 1992 base pre-tax low income cut-offs.

TABLE 1.18: POVERTY TRENDS, SINGLE-PARENT
FATHERS UNDER 65 WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18,
1980-1999

	Poor Single-Parent Fathers Under 65	All Single-Parent Fathers Under 65	Poverty Rate (%)
1980	1980	15,000	57,000
1981	1981	11,000	61,000
1982	1982	17,000	64,000
1983	1983	15,000	53,000
1984	1984	17,000	63,000
1985	1985	15,000	57,000
1986	1986	16,000	72,000
1987	1987	10,000	60,000
1988	1988	17,000	70,000
1989	1989	12,000	61,000
1990	1990	21,000	86,000
1991	1991	16,000	73,000
1992	1992	15,000	83,000
1993	1993	31,000	101,000
1994	1994	29,000	91,000
1995	1995	29,000	95,000
1996	1996	26,000	95,000
1997	1997	23,000	101,000
1998	1998	25,000	109,000
1999	1999	19,000	108,000

TABLE 1.19: POVERTY TRENDS, COUPLES
UNDER 65 WITHOUT CHILDREN, 1980-1999

	Poor Couples Under 65 without Children	All Couples Under 65 without Children	Poverty Rate (%)
1980	93,000	1,388,000	6.7%
1981	103,000	1,402,000	7.3%
1982	129,000	1,455,000	8.9%
1983	135,000	1,405,000	9.6%
1984	147,000	1,484,000	9.9%
1985	132,000	1,548,000	8.5%
1986	141,000	1,566,000	9.0%
1987	149,000	1,648,000	9.0%
1988	133,000	1,672,000	7.9%
1989	125,000	1,726,000	7.3%
1990	139,000	1,731,000	8.1%
1991	157,000	1,731,000	9.1%
1992	156,000	1,806,000	8.6%
1993	170,000	1,777,000	9.6%
1994	178,000	1,883,000	9.4%
1995	190,000	1,891,000	10.1%
1996	177,000	1,844,000	9.6%
1997	164,000	1,852,000	8.9%
1998	155,000	1,863,000	8.3%
1999	165,000	1,909,000	8.6%

TABLE 1.20: POVERTY TRENDS, COUPLES 65 AND OVER, 1980-1999

	Poor Couples 65 and Over	All Couples 65 and Over	Poverty Rate (%)
1980	97,000	553,000	17.5%
1981	106,000	556,000	19.1%
1982	76,000	599,000	12.7%
1983	84,000	599,000	14.1%
1984	95,000	622,000	15.3%
1985	97,000	643,000	15.1%
1986	100,000	700,000	14.3%
1987	92,000	704,000	13.0%
1988	90,000	737,000	12.2%
1989	72,000	748,000	9.6%
1990	58,000	778,000	7.5%
1991	66,000	793,000	8.3%
1992	65,000	842,000	7.8%
1993	73,000	831,000	8.7%
1994	51,000	878,000	5.8%
1995	62,000	925,000	6.7%
1996	66,000	866,000	7.6%
1997	69,000	869,000	7.9%
1998	62,000	888,000	7.0%
1999	44,000	924,000	4.7%

Using 1992 base pre-tax low income cut-offs.

TABLE 1.21: POVERTY TRENDS FOR UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65, 1980-1999

Poor Unattached Individuals Under 65	All Unattached Individuals Under 65	Poverty Rates (%)	Poor Unattached Women Under 65	All Unattached Women Under 65	Poverty Rates (%)	Poor Unattached Men Under 65	All Unattached Men Under 65	Poverty Rates (%)
1980 655,000	1,955,000	33.5%	356,000	884,000	40.3%	299,000	1,071,000	27.9%
1981 644,000	1,976,000	32.6%	351,000	901,000	38.9%	294,000	1,076,000	27.3%
1982 690,000	2,015,000	34.3%	330,000	896,000	36.8%	361,000	1,119,000	32.2%
1983 790,000	2,090,000	37.8%	367,000	902,000	40.7%	423,000	1,188,000	35.6%
1984 778,000	2,115,000	36.8%	383,000	922,000	41.6%	394,000	1,193,000	33.1%
1985 814,000	2,220,000	36.7%	392,000	938,000	41.7%	423,000	1,281,000	33.0%
1986 809,000	2,294,000	35.3%	389,000	988,000	39.4%	420,000	1,305,000	32.2%
1987 846,000	2,417,000	35.0%	396,000	1,037,000	38.1%	451,000	1,379,000	32.7%
1988 823,000	2,422,000	34.0%	416,000	1,046,000	39.8%	408,000	1,377,000	29.6%
1989 770,000	2,453,000	31.4%	393,000	1,064,000	36.9%	377,000	1,389,000	27.2%
1990 816,000	2,551,000	32.0%	391,000	1,070,000	36.5%	426,000	1,482,000	28.7%
1991 937,000	2,686,000	34.9%	451,000	1,149,000	39.3%	486,000	1,537,000	31.6%
1992 975,000	2,693,000	36.2%	439,000	1,094,000	40.1%	536,000	1,599,000	33.5%
1993 988,000	2,765,000	35.7%	441,000	1,114,000	39.6%	547,000	1,651,000	33.1%
1994 1,053,000	2,792,000	37.7%	505,000	1,136,000	44.5%	548,000	1,656,000	33.1%
1995 1,050,000	2,827,000	37.1%	480,000	1,188,000	40.4%	570,000	1,638,000	34.8%
1996 1,134,000	2,861,000	39.6%	515,000	1,179,000	43.6%	619,000	1,682,000	36.8%
1997 1,177,000	2,956,000	39.8%	556,000	1,235,000	45.1%	621,000	1,722,000	36.1%
1998 1,154,000	3,080,000	37.5%	565,000	1,296,000	43.6%	589,000	1,784,000	33.0%
1999 1,148,000	3,100,000	37.0%	548,000	1,295,000	42.3%	600,000	1,805,000	33.2%

Using 1992 base pre-tax low income cut-offs.

TABLE 1.22: POVERTY TRENDS FOR UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS 65 AND OVER, 1980-1999

	Poor Unattached Individuals 65 and Over	All Unattached Individuals 65 and Over	Poverty Rates (%)	Poor Unattached Women 65 and Over	All Unattached Women 65 and Over	Poverty Rates (%)	Poor Unattached Men 65 and Over	All Unattached Men 65 and Over	Poverty Rates (%)
1980	463,000	698,000	66.4%	354,000	506,000	70.1%	109,000	193,000	56.7%
1981	476,000	736,000	64.6%	367,000	539,000	68.1%	109,000	197,000	55.1%
1982	440,000	688,000	63.9%	354,000	518,000	68.3%	85,000	169,000	50.4%
1983	505,000	776,000	65.1%	401,000	585,000	68.5%	105,000	191,000	54.8%
1984	440,000	730,000	60.2%	349,000	557,000	62.6%	91,000	173,000	52.5%
1985	444,000	764,000	58.2%	359,000	585,000	61.4%	85,000	178,000	47.6%
1986	436,000	798,000	54.6%	350,000	610,000	57.5%	85,000	188,000	45.3%
1987	444,000	853,000	52.0%	363,000	648,000	56.1%	80,000	205,000	39.0%
1988	473,000	893,000	52.9%	396,000	684,000	57.9%	77,000	209,000	36.7%
1989	436,000	905,000	48.2%	362,000	687,000	52.7%	74,000	218,000	33.8%
1990	462,000	967,000	47.8%	370,000	730,000	50.6%	93,000	236,000	39.3%
1991	471,000	985,000	47.8%	376,000	740,000	50.8%	95,000	245,000	38.8%
1992	450,000	965,000	46.6%	369,000	726,000	50.8%	81,000	240,000	33.7%
1993	512,000	1,049,000	48.8%	414,000	778,000	53.2%	98,000	270,000	36.3%
1994	472,000	1,044,000	45.2%	394,000	782,000	50.4%	78,000	262,000	29.7%
1995	471,000	1,044,000	45.1%	396,000	782,000	50.6%	75,000	263,000	28.7%
1996	511,000	1,121,000	45.6%	412,000	829,000	49.8%	98,000	292,000	33.7%
1997	518,000	1,155,000	44.9%	418,000	841,000	49.7%	100,000	314,000	31.9%
1998	522,000	1,177,000	44.4%	409,000	853,000	47.9%	113,000	324,000	35.1%
1999	519,000	1,178,000	44.0%	417,000	861,000	48.5%	101,000	317,000	31.9%

Using 1992 base pre-tax low income cut-offs.

TABLE 1.23: PRE-TAX AND POST-TAX POVERTY RATES FOR ALL PERSONS, 1999

	Number of Poor Individuals		Poverty Rate (%)		Total Number of Individuals (Poor and Non-Poor)
	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	
All Persons	4,886,000	3,569,000	16.2%	11.8%	30,249,000
Children Under 18	1,313,000	975,000	18.7%	13.9%	7,028,000
Seniors	646,000	300,000	17.7%	8.2%	3,659,000
Unattached Individuals	1,667,000	1,280,000	38.9%	29.9%	4,279,000

TABLE 1.24: PRE-TAX AND POST-TAX POVERTY RATES FOR FAMILIES, 1999

	Number of Poor Families		Poverty Rate (%)		Total Number of Families (Poor and Non-Poor)
	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	
All Families	1,025,000	723,000	12.2%	8.6%	8,406,000
Single-Parent Mothers Under 65	295,000	236,000	51.8%	41.3%	570,000
Single-Parent Fathers Under 65	19,000	15,000	18.0%	13.5%	108,000
Couples Under 65 with Children	321,000	224,000	10.4%	7.3%	3,076,000
Couples Under 65 without Children	165,000	117,000	8.6%	6.1%	1,909,000
Couples 65 and Over	44,000	--	4.7%	1.0%	924,000

--Sample size too small

TABLE 1.25: PRE-TAX AND POST-TAX POVERTY RATES FOR UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS, 1999

	Number of Poor Families		Poverty Rate (%)		Total Number of Families (Poor and Non-Poor)
	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	
Unattached Individuals	1,667,000	1,280,000	38.9%	29.9%	4,279,000
Unattached Individuals Under 65	1,148,000	1,023,000	37.0%	33.0%	3,100,000
Unattached Women Under 65	548,000	490,000	42.3%	37.8%	1,295,000
Unattached Men Under 65	600,000	534,000	33.2%	29.6%	1,805,000
Unattached Individuals 65 and Over	519,000	256,000	44.0%	21.7%	1,178,000
Unattached Women 65 and Over	417,000	204,000	48.5%	23.6%	861,000
Unattached Men 65 and Over	101,000	53,000	31.9%	16.6%	317,000

II. VIEW FROM THE PROVINCES

Economic conditions, the adequacy of pension programs, and family type are major determinants of poverty in all parts of Canada. There are important differences from province to province, however, depending on factors such as economic structures, welfare benefits and access to other social and economic resources that enable people to improve their economic situation.

The diversity in provincial political economies is often reflected, in part if not whole, in disparities in poverty levels across provinces. In this chapter, we compare the ten Canadian provinces on their pre-tax poverty rates from 1980 to 1999, for all persons as well as for families and unattached individuals. We also provide pre-tax and post-tax poverty rates for 1999¹.

ALL PERSONS

Between 1998 and 1999, the poverty rate for all persons decreased in seven provinces. The poverty rate among the general population dropped in Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Quebec, Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The poverty rate for all persons increased in British Columbia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland and Labrador.

Quebec's poverty rate for all persons dropped from 22.1 percent in 1998 to 19.5 percent in 1999. Among all the provinces, this was the largest decrease in the pre-tax poverty rate for all individuals. Comparatively, Manitoba also had a sizeable dip from 20 percent in 1998 to 18.5 percent in 1999.

Of the remaining provinces whose pre-tax poverty rates fell, the improvement ranged from 0.9 percentage points in Saskatchewan, to 0.4 percentage points in Nova Scotia. In contrast, the poverty rate for all persons rose by 2.4 percentage points in British Columbia, by 2 percentage points in Prince Edward Island and by 0.7 percentage points in Newfoundland and Labrador.

In 1999, the poverty rate for all persons ranged from a low of 13.5 percent in Ontario to a high of 20.7 percent in Newfoundland and Labrador. Table 2.24 provides the 1999 poverty rates by province, for families, unattached individuals and all persons.

The lowest provincial rate for all persons was recorded in 1989 at 10.8 percent in Ontario. The highest rate was recorded in 1983 in Newfoundland and Labrador at 26 percent.

From 1980 through 1999, the provincial poverty rate for all persons was consistently above the national rate in the cases of Quebec, Newfoundland and Labrador and Manitoba. Ontario was the only province whose poverty rate for all persons was consistently below the national rate from 1980 to 1999. Prince Edward Island came close. From 1983 to 1999 its

¹ Until 1999, the National Council of Welfare had requested, obtained and analyzed only pre-tax poverty statistics from Statistics Canada. We have both pre-tax and post-tax data only for 1999.

poverty rate was consistently below the national rate. Although the poverty rate for all persons in Nova Scotia fluctuated frequently between 1980 and 1999, it generally was close to the national rate.

Province-by-province poverty rates for the 1980-1999 period are provided in the pages that follow in Figures 2.1 through 2.20. The top half of each page shows provincial poverty rates for all persons from 1980 to 1999. The line with diamond markers and accompanied by percentages shows the provincial poverty rates. For purposes of comparison, each graph includes a second line showing the poverty rates for Canada.

The bottom half of each page gives the poverty rates for families and unattached individuals from 1980 through 1999. The lines without markers or percentages show the national trends. Additional information can be found in Tables 2.25 to 2.27.

Figure 2.1: Poverty Rates in Newfoundland and Labrador, Trends for All Persons

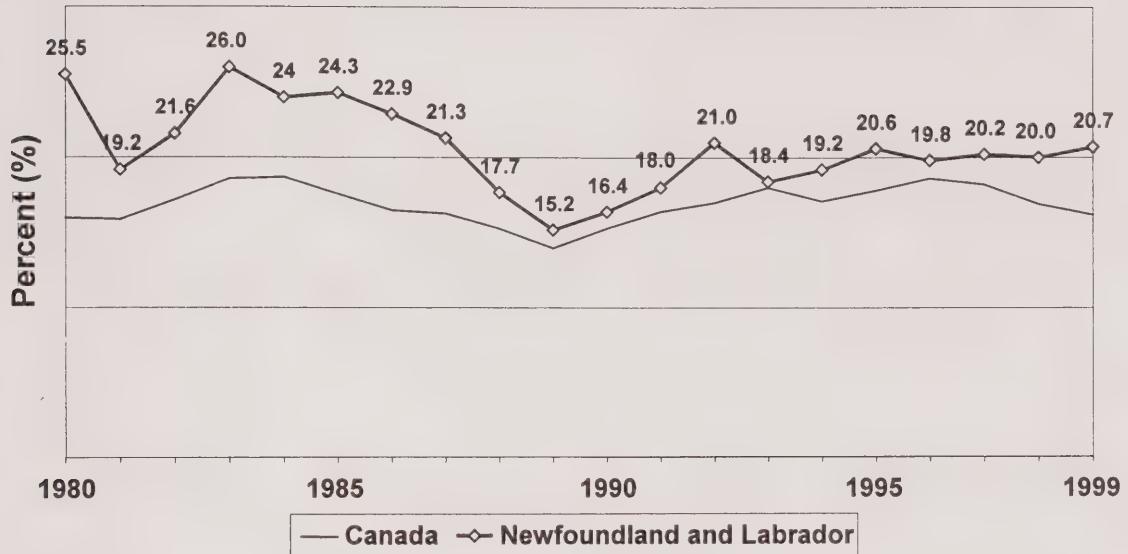


Figure 2.2: Poverty Rates in Newfoundland and Labrador, Families and Unattached Individuals

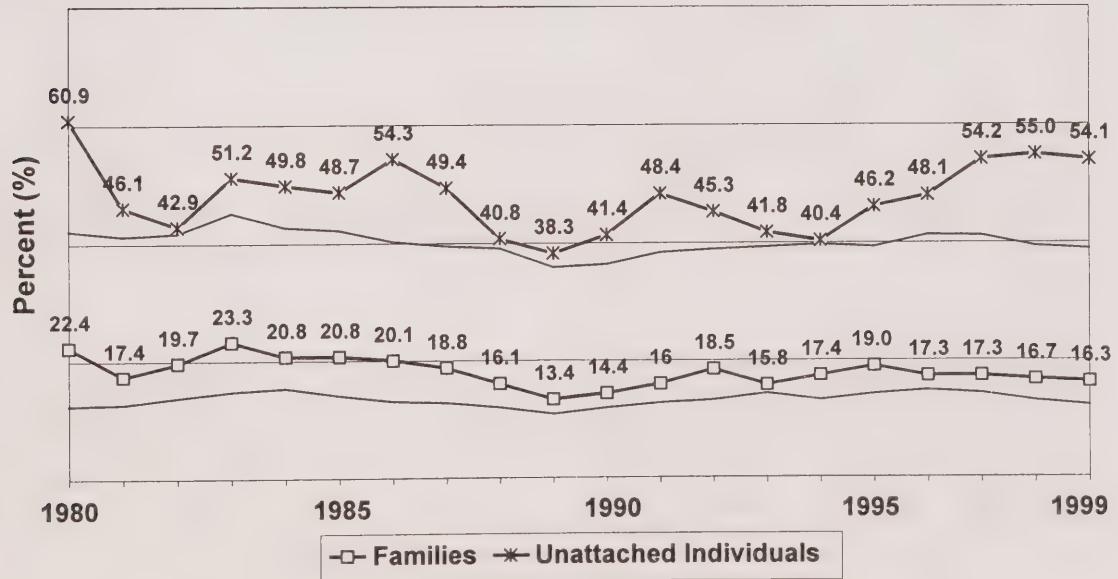


Figure 2.3: Poverty Rates in Prince Edward Island, Trends for All Persons

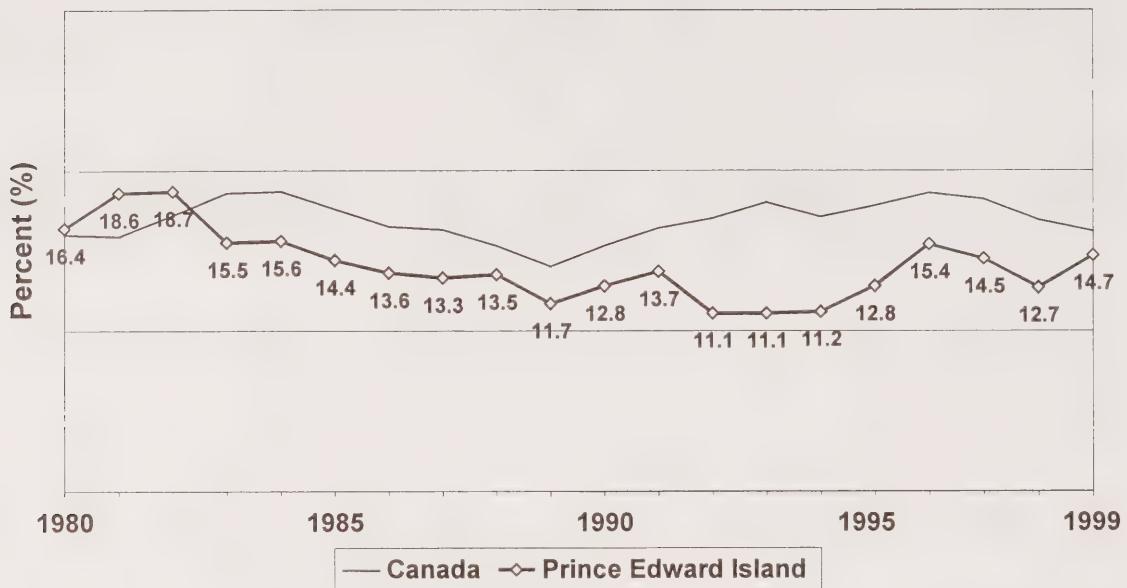
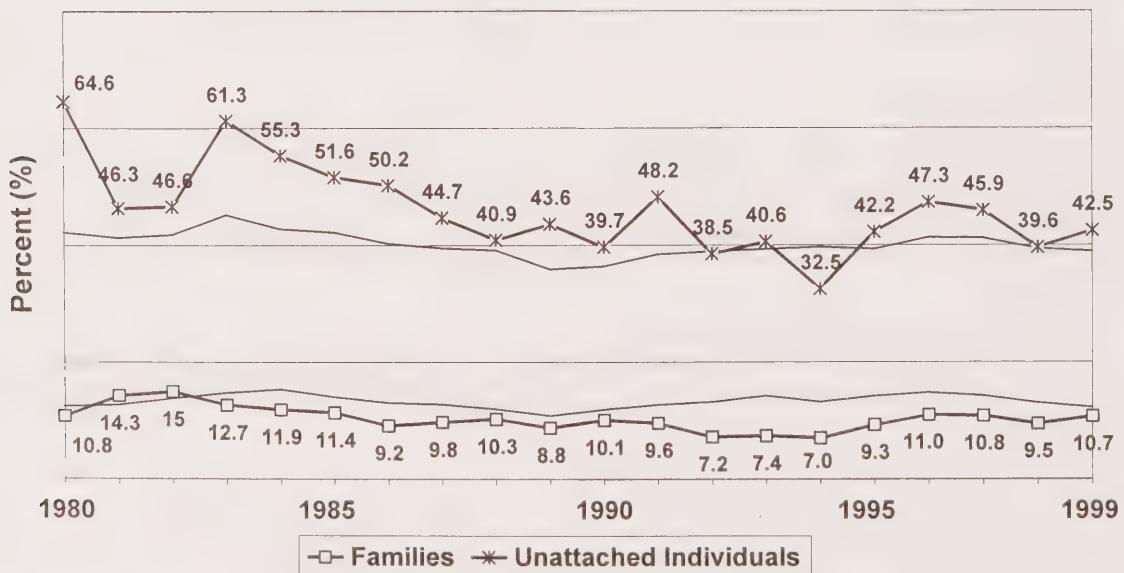
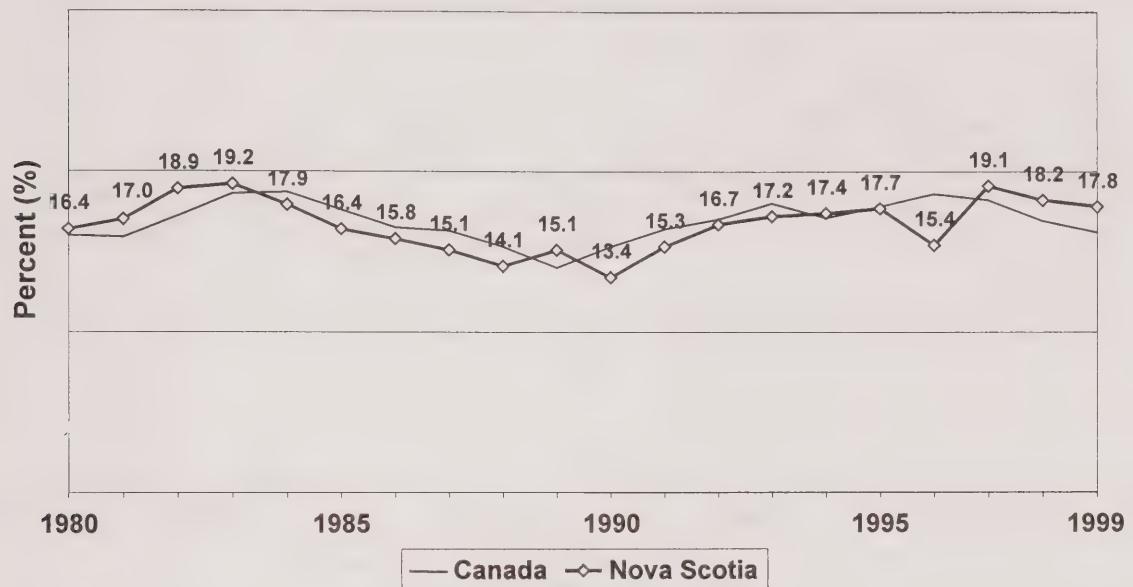


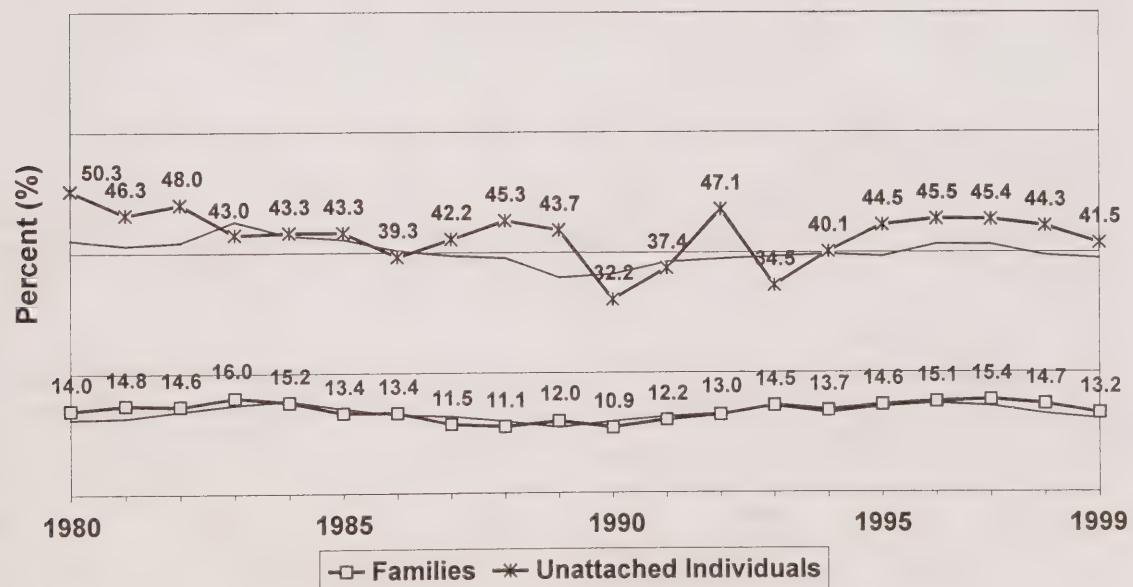
Figure 2.4: Poverty Rates in Prince Edward Island, Families and Unattached Individuals



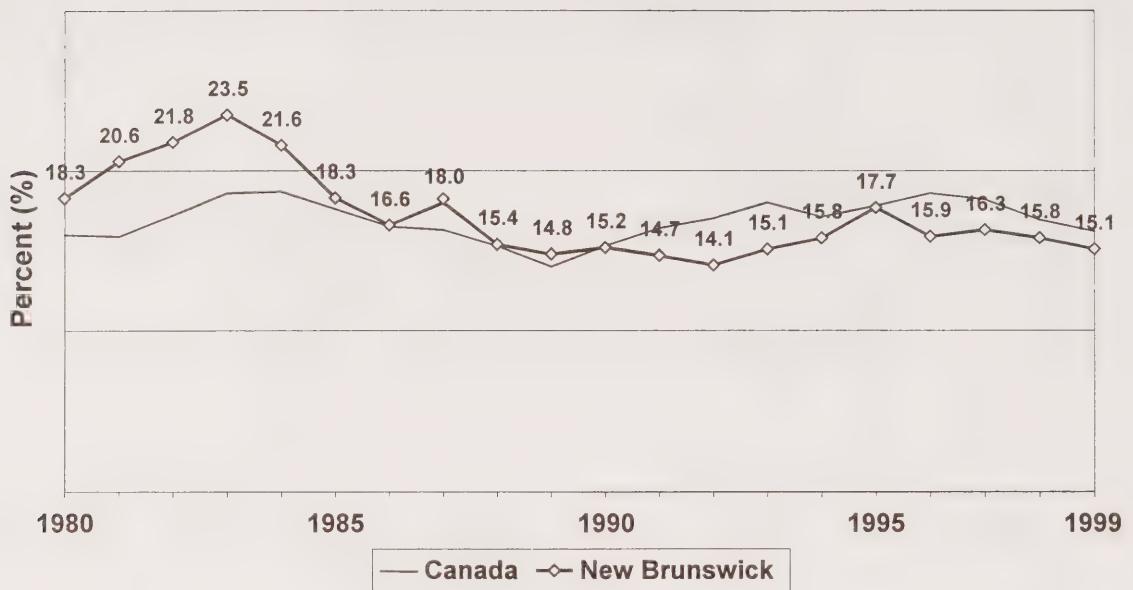
**Figure 2.5: Poverty Rates in Nova Scotia,
Trends for All Persons**



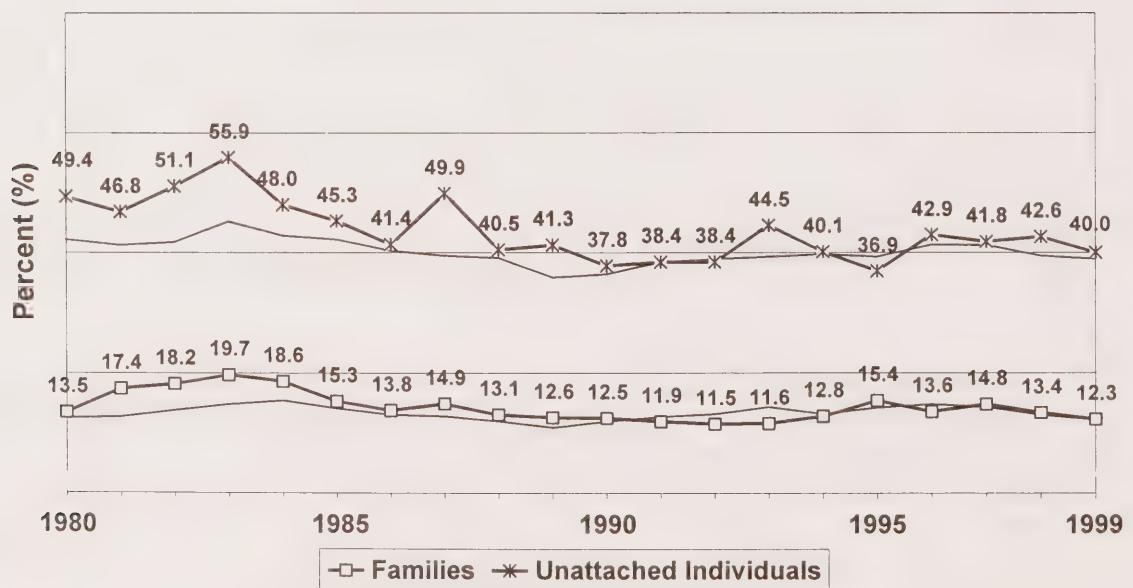
**Figure 2.6: Poverty Rates in Nova Scotia,
Families and Unattached Individuals**



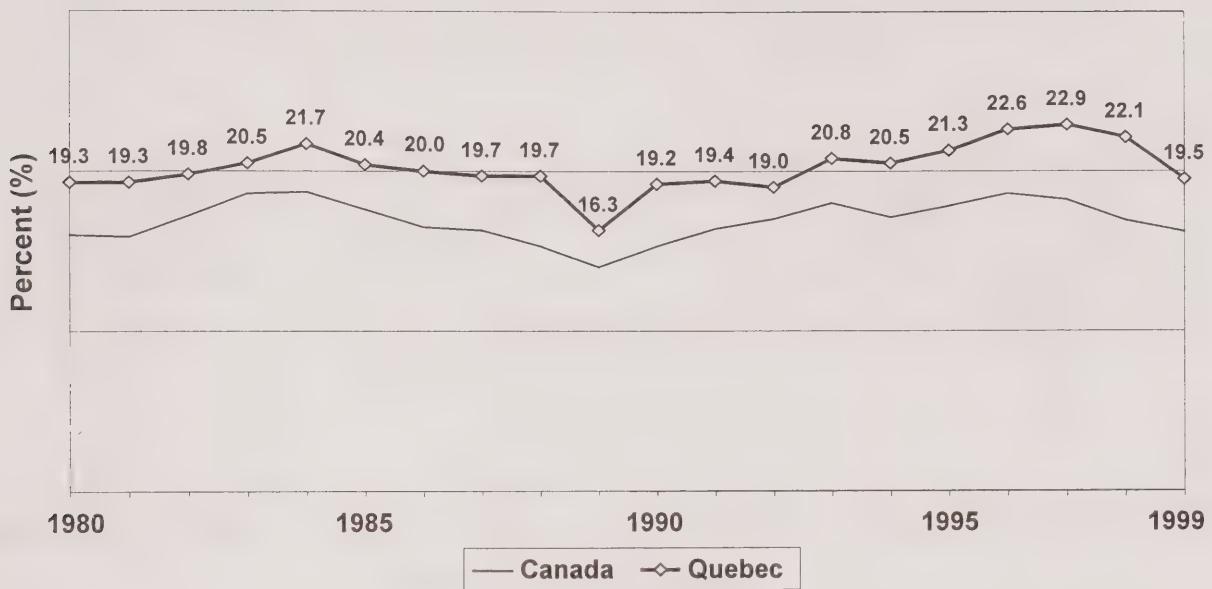
**Figure 2.7: Poverty Rates in New Brunswick,
Trends for All Persons**



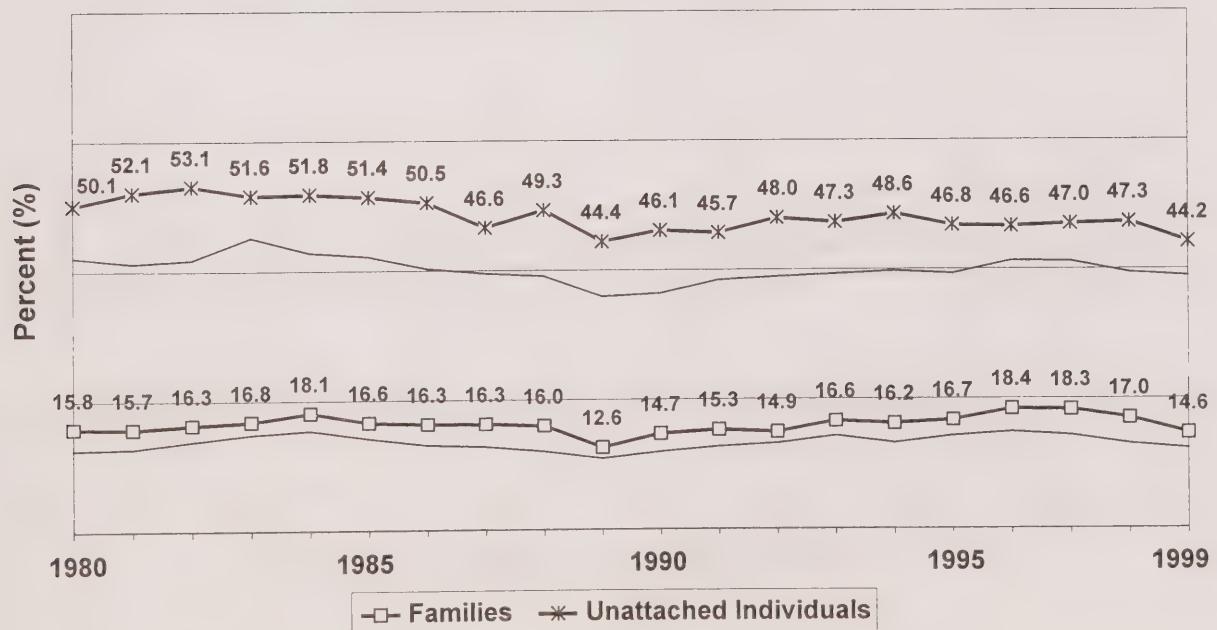
**Figure 2.8: Poverty Rates in New Brunswick,
Families and Unattached Individuals**



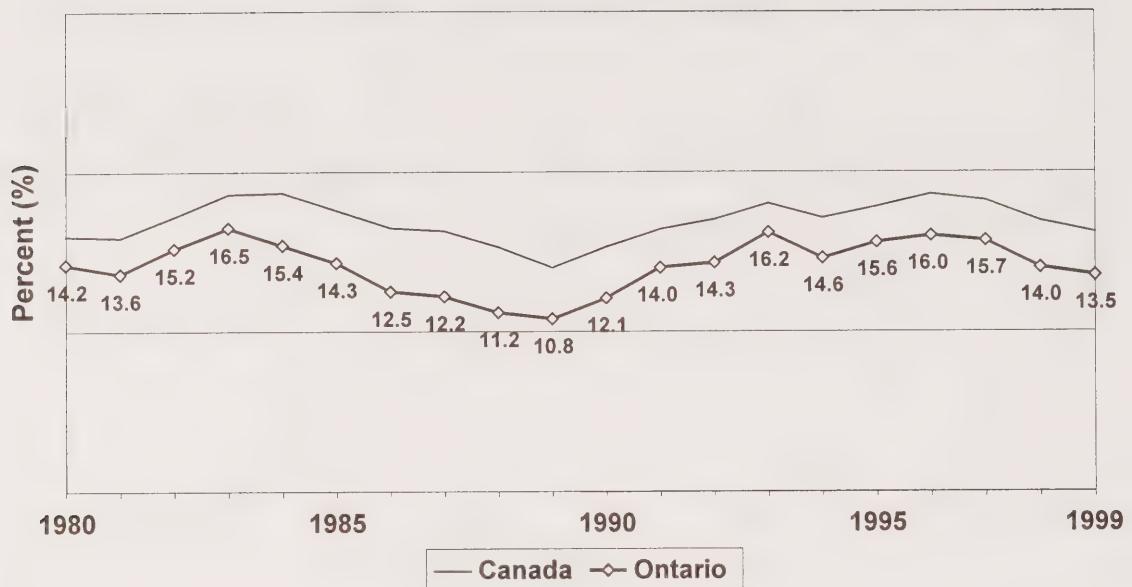
**Figure 2.9: Poverty Rates in Quebec,
Trends for All Persons**



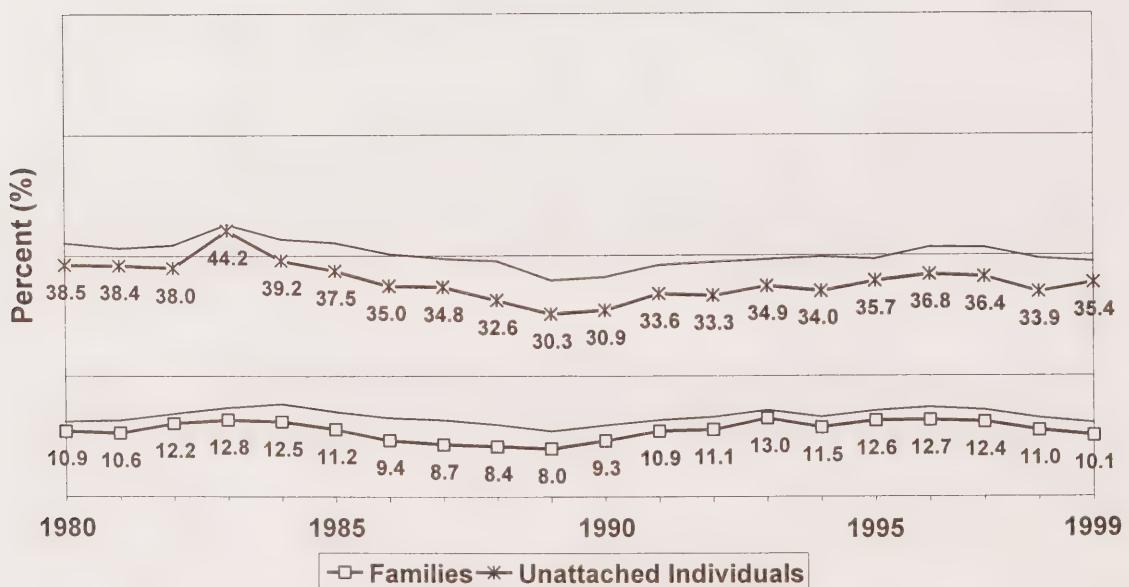
**Figure 2.10: Poverty Rates in Quebec,
Families and Unattached Individuals**



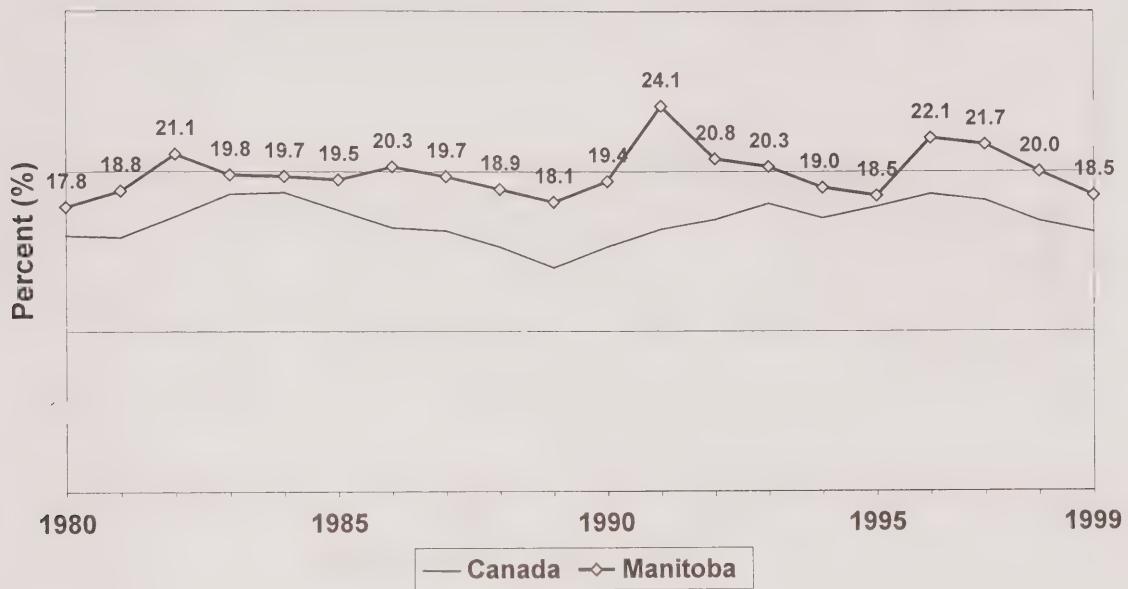
**Figure 2.11: Poverty Rates in Ontario,
Trends for All Persons**



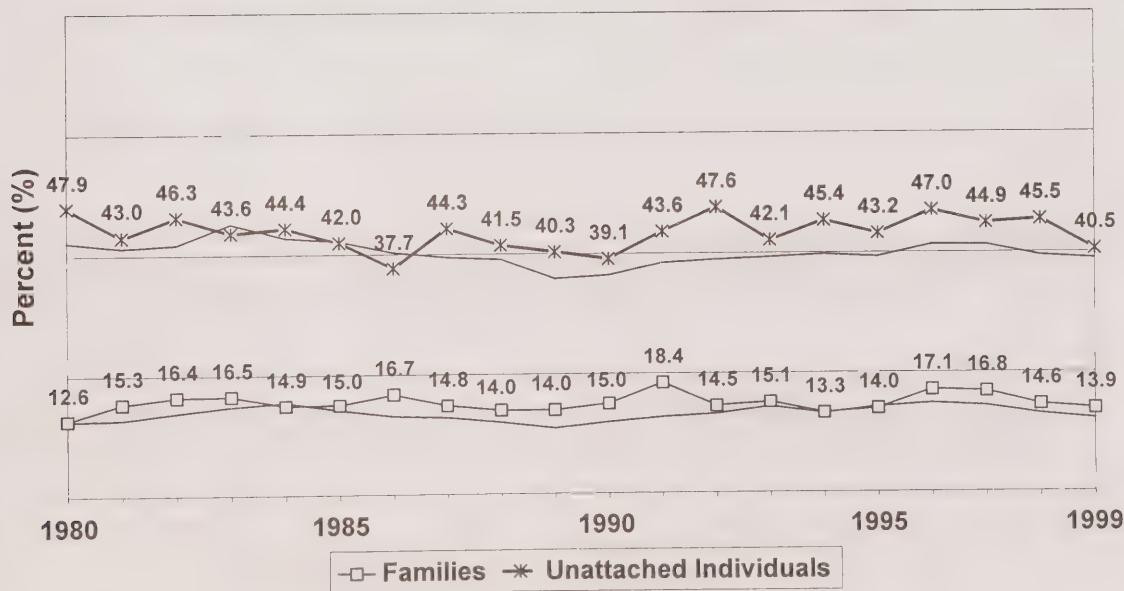
**Figure 2.12: Poverty Rates in Ontario,
Families and Unattached Individuals**



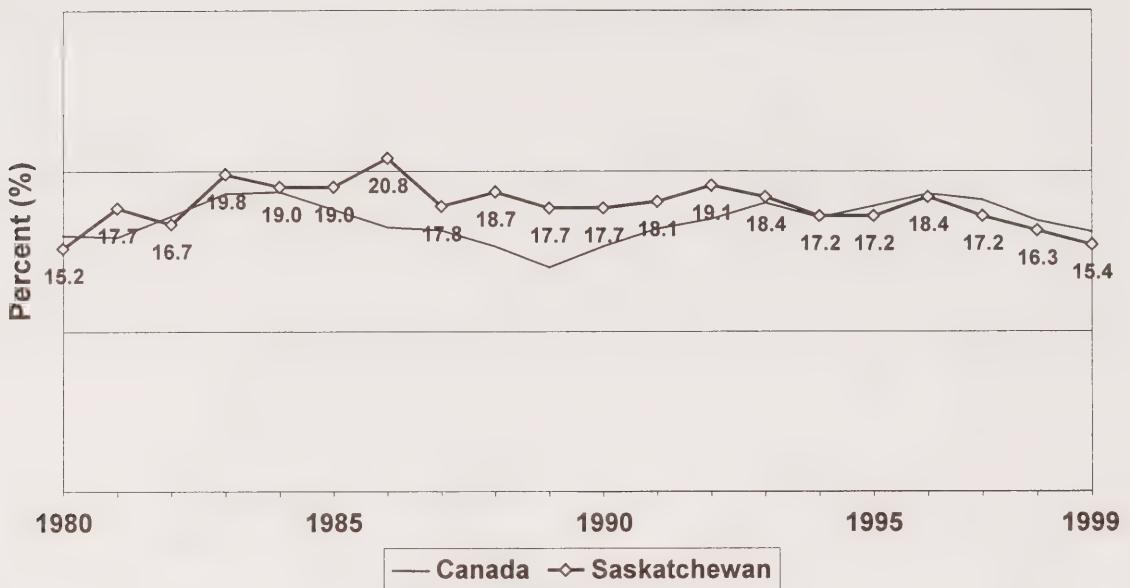
**Figure 2.13: Poverty Rates in Manitoba,
Trends for All Persons**



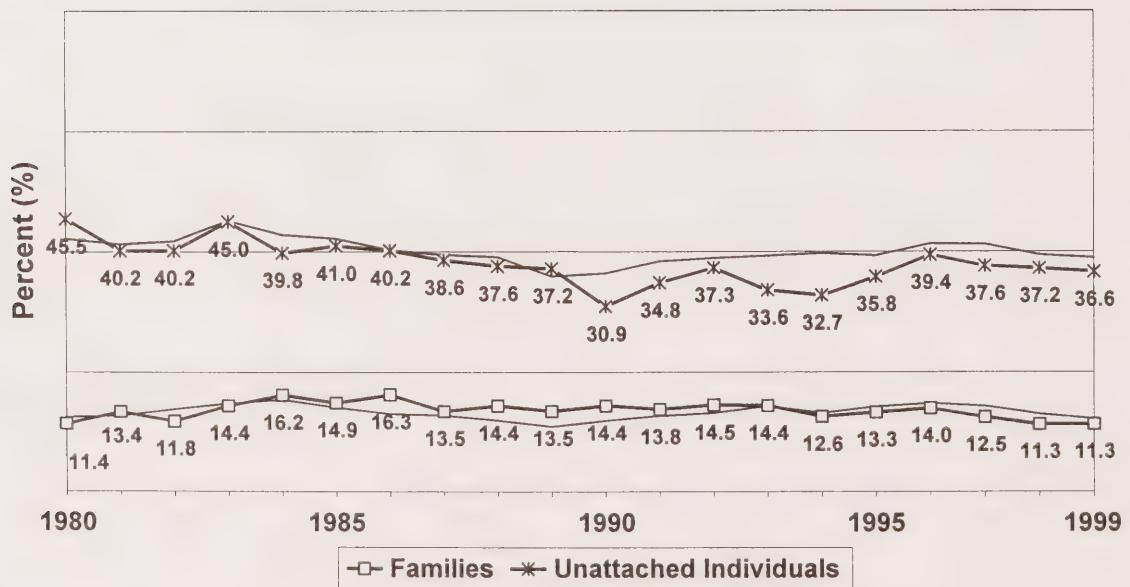
**Figure 2.14: Poverty Rates in Manitoba,
Families and Unattached Individuals**



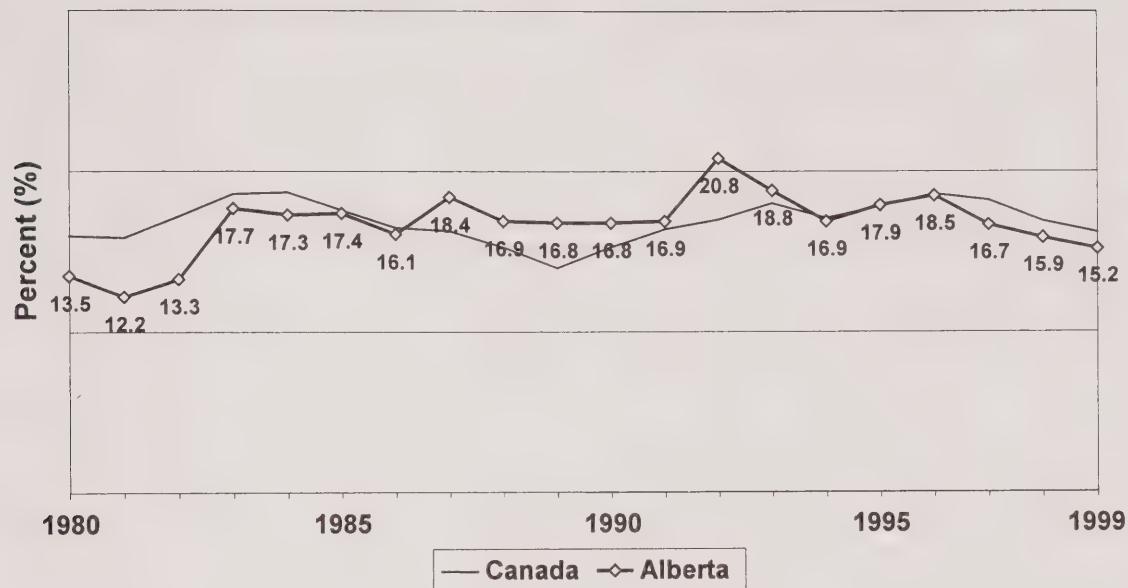
**Figure 2.15: Poverty Rates in Saskatchewan,
Trends for All Persons**



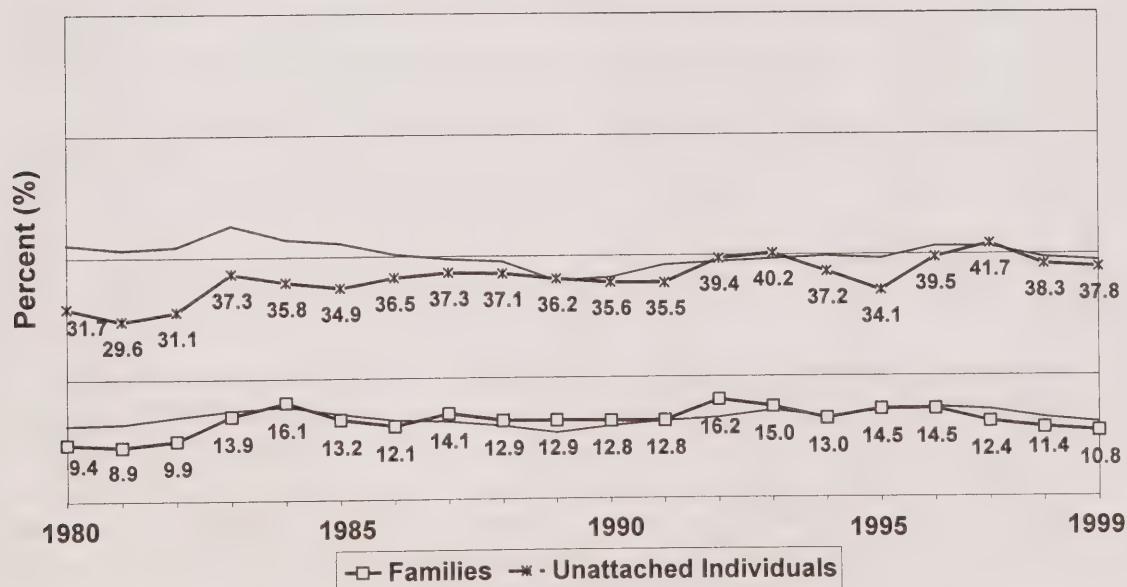
**Figure 2.16: Poverty Rates in Saskatchewan,
Families and Unattached Individuals**



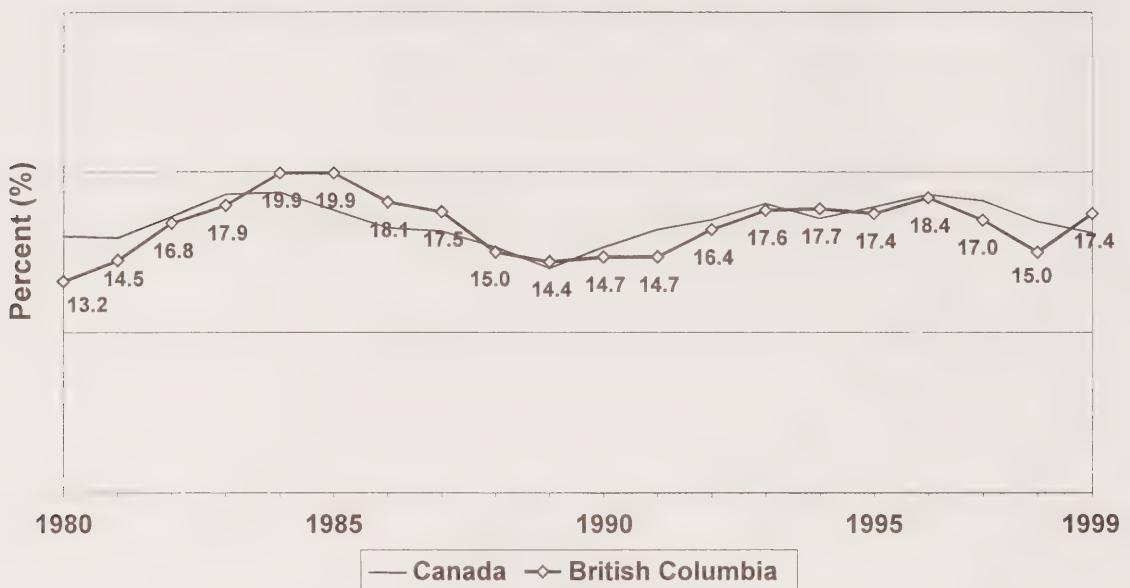
**Figure 2.17: Poverty Rates in Alberta,
Trends for All Persons**



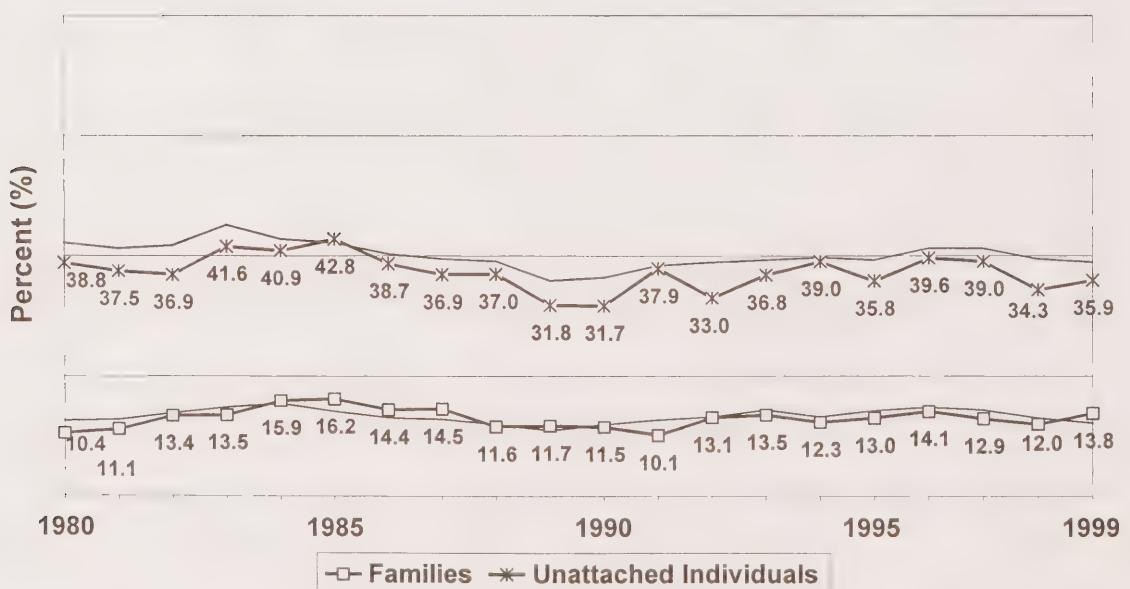
**Figure 2.18: Poverty Rates in Alberta,
Families and Unattached Individuals**



**Figure 2.19: Poverty Rates in British Columbia,
Trends for All Persons**



**Figure 2.20: Poverty Rates in British Columbia,
Families and Unattached Individuals**



FAMILIES

Between 1998 and 1999, in Saskatchewan, the poverty rate for families remained unchanged at 11.3 percent. However, with the exception of British Columbia and Prince Edward Island where the poverty rates for families rose by 1.8 percentage points and by 1.2 percentage points respectively, the poverty rates for families dropped in all the other provinces. The largest drop was in Quebec where the poverty rate improved by 2.4 percentage points from 17 percent in 1998 to 14.6 percent in 1999. In the remaining provinces, the improvement ranged from 1.5 percentage points in Nova Scotia to 0.4 percentage points in Newfoundland and Labrador.

In 1999, family poverty rates were lower in Ontario (10.1 percent), Prince Edward Island (10.7 percent), Alberta (10.8 percent) and Saskatchewan (11.3 percent) than at the national level (12.2 percent). Nova Scotia (13.2 percent), British Columbia (13.8 percent), Manitoba (13.9 percent) and Quebec (14.6 percent) had rates that were slightly higher than the national rate. The rate in Newfoundland and Labrador (16.3 percent) was higher than the national rate. New Brunswick's rate of 12.3 percent approximated the national rate.

Since 1980, the provincial rate for families has been consistently above the national rate in Quebec, Manitoba and Newfoundland and Labrador. In Ontario and Prince Edward Island, the provincial rate for families has been generally lower than the national average from the period 1980 to 1999. For Prince Edward Island, the only exception was the period from 1981 to 1982 when the provincial rate was higher. The family rate in the five other provinces has fluctuated considerably with different patterns over the years.

UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS

Between 1998 and 1999, as with all persons, the poverty rates for unattached individuals rose in some provinces and dropped in others. The most dramatic drop was in Manitoba where the proportion of poor unattached individuals decreased from 45.5 percent in 1998 to 40.5 percent in 1999. Quebec, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, Saskatchewan, and Alberta saw modest improvements of 3.1 percent, 2.6 percent, 0.9 percent, 0.6 percent and 0.5 percent respectively. However, the poverty rate rose by 2.9 percentage points in Prince Edward Island, by 1.6 percentage points in British Columbia and by 1.5 percentage points in Ontario.

In 1999, the pre-tax poverty rate was highest in Newfoundland and Labrador at 54 percent. It was lowest in Ontario at 35 percent.

From 1980 through 1999, the provincial rates in Newfoundland and Labrador and Quebec were higher than the national poverty rate for unattached individuals. In Newfoundland and Labrador, the poverty rate for unattached persons ranged from a high of 60.9 percent in 1980 to a low of 38.3 percent in 1989. The gap between the national and the Newfoundland and Labrador poverty rates was closest in 1982 (when the provincial rate was 42.9 percent), between 1988 and 1990 (when the provincial rate ranged from 38.3 percent to 41.4 percent),

and in 1993 and 1994 (when the provincial rates were 41.8 percent and 40.4 percent respectively).

However, between 1995 and 1999, the gap between the national rate and the provincial poverty rate for unattached persons widened considerably in Newfoundland and Labrador. The gap reached a high of 15.6 percentage points in 1998 when the provincial rate was 55 percent and the national rate was 39.4 percent. The gap narrowed to 15.2 percentage points in 1999 when the provincial and national rates decreased to 54.1 percent and 38.9 percent respectively.

In contrast, from 1980 to 1999, the poverty rates for unattached individuals in Ontario and British Columbia were, for the most part, lower than the national rate. The poverty rate for unattached individuals in Ontario ranged from a low of 30.3 percent in 1989 to a high of 44.2 percent in 1983; in British Columbia ranged from a low of 31.7 percent in 1990 to a high of 42.8 percent in 1985; the national level rate ranged from a low of 35.9 percent in 1989 to a high of 42.8 percent in 1984.

In Prince Edward Island, the provincial rate was generally higher than the national rate from 1980 through 1991. Between 1992 and 1993, the provincial rate in Prince Edward Island was close to the national rate. However, in 1994, the PEI rate fell to 32.5 percent below the national rate of 39.7 percent. Since 1995 however, the poverty rate for unattached individuals has been consistently above the national rate. Similarly, for Nova Scotia, the provincial rate has been mostly above the national rate with the exceptions of 1983, 1986, 1990 and 1993 when the provincial poverty rate was either below or close to the national rate for unattached persons.

The trends in New Brunswick and Manitoba were similar to that of Nova Scotia: poverty rates in both New Brunswick and Manitoba were generally above the national rate for the greater part of the last two decades. For New Brunswick, the notable exceptions were 1990 through 1992 when the provincial rate closely approximated the national rate, 1994 when the two rates were again virtually the same and 1995, when the provincial rate was lower than the national rate. However, although the provincial rate has been higher than the national rate from 1996 to 1999, the gap between the two was quite narrow for the latter period. In the case of Manitoba, the provincial rate was either close to or below the national rate from 1983 to 1986.

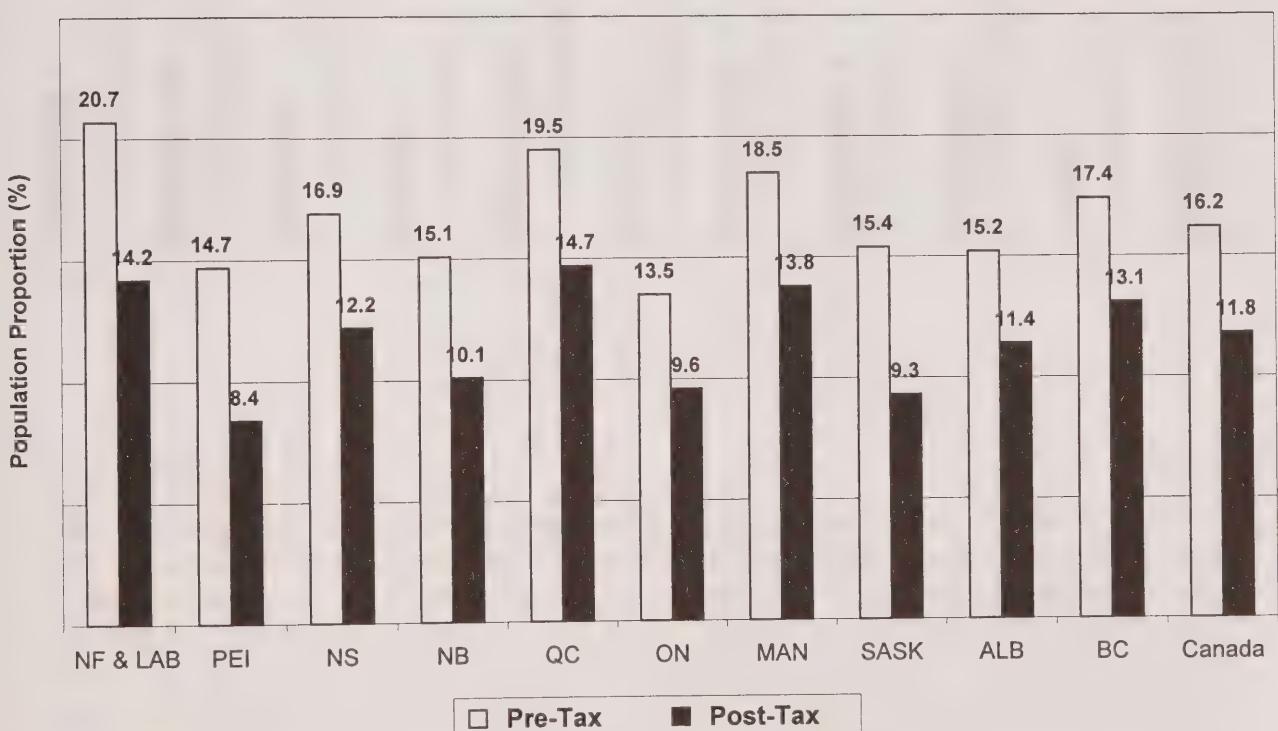
In the case of Saskatchewan, the provincial rate and the national rate were virtually the same from 1981 through 1989. However, since 1990, the provincial rate in Saskatchewan for unattached persons has been generally below the national rate.

In Alberta, the provincial rate was generally below the national rate from 1980 through 1988. Between 1989 and 1990, the two rates were virtually the same. Since then, the provincial rate has been either below or close to the national rate.

1999 PRE-TAX AND POST-TAX POVERTY RATES

As at the national level, the post-tax poverty rates in all the provinces were generally lower than the pre-tax poverty rates for all persons, families and unattached individuals. However, the post-tax reduction in poverty rates varied from one province to another. Provinces such as Prince Edward Island, in addition to having relatively low pre-tax poverty rates, also had a substantial reduction in poverty rates after accounting for taxes. Accordingly, they also ended up with relatively low post-tax poverty rates as well. Other provinces such as Ontario and Alberta had relatively low pre-tax rates but only slight decreases after taxes were factored in. Consequently, their post-tax poverty rates tended to be more modest. Some provinces such as Quebec and New Brunswick started out with high pre-tax poverty rates and had modest post-tax reductions. Their post-tax poverty rates tended to be mid-range.

**Figure 2.21: Poverty Rates for All Persons
by Province (Pre- and Post-Tax Rates), 1999**

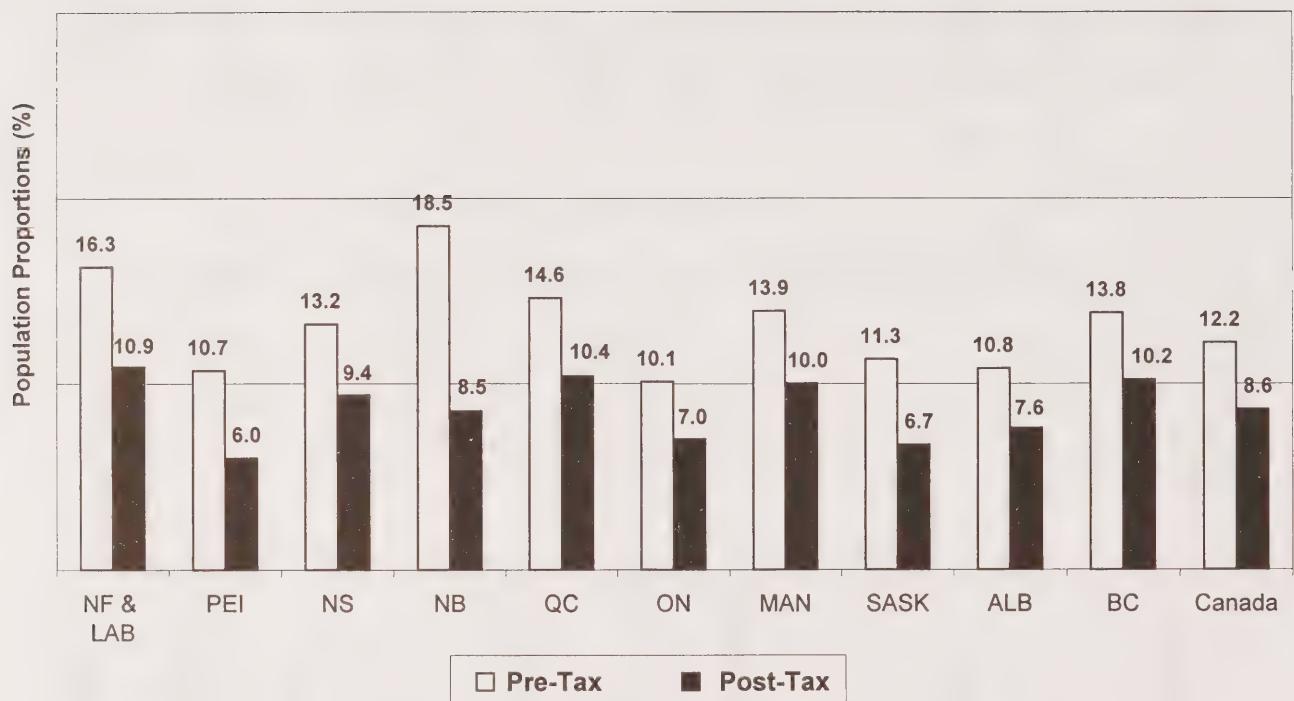


ALL PERSONS

The poverty rates for all individuals were higher than the rates for families but lower than the rates for unattached individuals. Newfoundland and Labrador (20.7 percent), Quebec (19.5 percent), Manitoba (18.5 percent), British Columbia (17.4 percent) and Nova Scotia (16.9 percent) had the highest pre-tax poverty rates. Ontario (13.5 percent), Prince Edward

Island (14.7 percent), New Brunswick (15.1 percent), Alberta (15.2 percent) and Saskatchewan (15.4 percent) had lower rates than the national level.

**Figure 2.22: Poverty Rates for Families
by Province (Pre- and Post-Tax Rates), 1999**



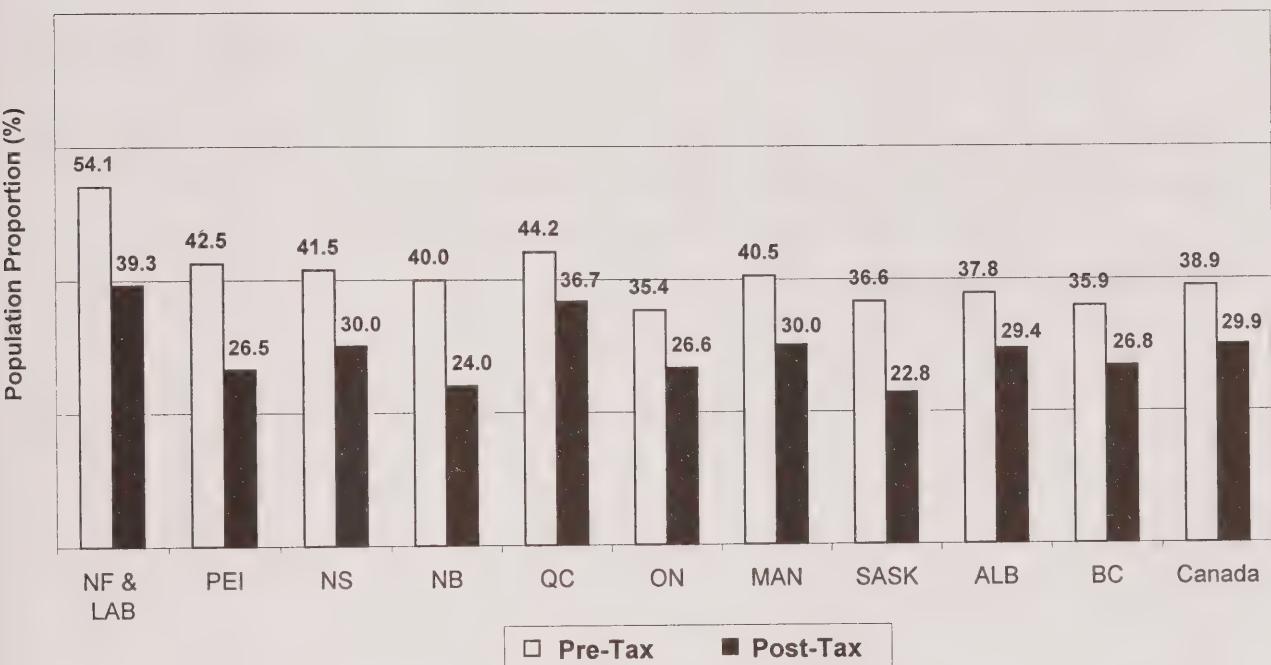
FAMILIES

After taxes, Prince Edward Island had the lowest poverty rate of 6 percent. New Brunswick had the largest percentage reduction of 10 percentage points in its poverty rate after accounting for taxes, putting its post-tax poverty level (8.5 percent) on more or less the same footing as the national level (8.6 percent). After taxes, Newfoundland and Labrador saw the second largest decrease (5.4 percentage points) in poverty rate. Prince Edward had the third largest at 4.7 percent. This, combined with having the second lowest pre-tax poverty rate, made Prince Edward Island the province with the lowest 1999 post-tax poverty rate for families.

The post-tax reductions in poverty levels in Ontario (3.1 percentage points) and Alberta (3.2 percentage points) fell below the reduction at the national level (3.6 percentage points). Nonetheless, after taxes, both Ontario at 7 percent and Alberta at 7.6 percent had poverty rates that were slightly lower than the national level of 8.6 percent. After modest post-tax

reductions in poverty rates, Manitoba, British Columbia and Quebec, still had post-tax poverty rates that were higher than the national rate of 8.6 percent.

Figure 2.23: Poverty Rates for Unattached Individuals by Province (Pre- and Post-Tax Rates), 1999



UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS

In Chapter 1, we showed that poverty rates at the national level are generally lower for families than for either all persons or unattached individuals. This is also the case across all the ten provinces.

After taxes, the poverty rates for unattached individuals were reduced by a high of 16 percentage points to 26.5 percent in Prince Edward Island and 24 in New Brunswick. The reduction meant that the two provinces had post-tax poverty rates that were lower than the national level of 29.9 percent for unattached individuals.

Saskatchewan saw a modest reduction of 13.8 percentage points in its pre-tax poverty rate for unattached individuals. It also had the lowest post-tax poverty rate of 22.8 percent across the entire country for unattached individuals. Ontario and Alberta had post-tax poverty rates lower than the national rate even though they saw only modest post-tax reductions of 8.8 percentage points and 8.4 percentage points respectively.

POVERTY RATES RELATIVE TO PROVINCIAL POPULATIONS

In 1999, there were about 8.4 million families in Canada. Of these, slightly over one million were poor before taxes and about 0.7 million were poor after taxes.

In 1999, Statistics Canada estimated Ontario's share of all Canadian families at 37.9 percent. Quebec's share was 24.7 percent. These two large provinces jointly accounted for over 60 percent of poor Canadian families in 1999.

Despite having the lowest pre-tax poverty rates for families and all individuals, Ontario accounted for 32.4 percent of all poor Canadian families and for 32.1 percent of all poor Canadians in 1999. However, at 31.3 percent, Quebec had the largest proportion of unattached individuals whose income before taxes was below the pre-tax poverty line. Ontario had the second largest share of poor unattached persons at about 30.7 percent.

After taxes, Ontario's share of poor Canadian families was 31 percent. Quebec's had a post-tax share of 29.9 percent.

TABLE 2.24: POVERTY BY PROVINCE, 1999

	Families			Unattached Individuals			All Persons			
	Pre-Tax		Post-Tax	Pre-Tax		Post-Tax	Pre-Tax		Post-Tax	
	Number of Poor Families	Poverty Rate (%)	Number of Poor Families	Poverty Rate (%)	Number of Poor Unattached Individuals	Poverty Rate (%)	Number of Poor Persons	Poverty Rate (%)	Number of Poor Persons	Poverty Rate (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	26,000	16.3%	17,000	10.9%	30,000	54.1%	22,000	39.3%	112,000	20.7%
Prince Edward Island	4,000	10.7%	2,000	6.0%	7,000	42.5%	5,000	26.5%	20,000	14.7%
Nova Scotia	35,000	13.2%	24,000	9.4%	55,000	41.5%	40,000	30.0%	157,000	16.9%
New Brunswick	27,000	18.5%	19,000	8.5%	35,000	40%	21,000	24.0%	112,000	15.1%
Quebec	302,000	14.6%	216,000	10.4%	522,000	44.2%	433,000	36.7%	1,433,000	19.5%
Ontario	322,000	10.1%	224,000	7.0%	512,000	35.4%	384,000	26.6%	1,568,000	13.5%
Manitoba	42,000	13.9%	30,000	10.0%	65,000	40.5%	48,000	30.0%	202,000	18.5%
Saskatchewan	30,000	11.3%	18,000	6.7%	56,000	36.6%	35,000	22.8%	150,000	15.4%
Alberta	86,000	10.8%	61,000	7.6%	165,000	37.8%	128,000	29.4%	445,000	15.2%
British Columbia	150,000	13.8%	110,000	10.2%	219,000	35.9%	163,000	26.8%	686,000	17.4%
Canada	1,025,000	12.2%	723,000	8.6%	1,667,000	38.9%	1,280,000	29.9%	4,886,000	16.2%
										3,569,000 11.8%

Using 1992 base pre-tax low income cut-offs.

TABLE 2.25: POVERTY RATES FOR FAMILIES UNDER 65, BY PROVINCE, 1999*

PROVINCE	Single-Parent Mothers				Couples with Children				Couples without Children			
	Pre-Tax		Post-Tax		Pre-Tax		Post-Tax		Pre-Tax		Post-Tax	
	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	7,000	66%	5,000	51%	9,000	16%	7,000	11%	4,000	12%	3,000	8%
Prince Edward Island	--	--	--	--	2,000	11%	--	--	--	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	9,000	56%	7,000	44%	8,000	8%	5,000	6%	7,000	11%	5,000	8%
New Brunswick	10,000	63%	8,000	47%	7,000	9%	5,000	7%	4,000	8%	3,000	5%
Quebec	87,000	57%	72,000	48%	91,000	13%	64,000	9%	53,000	11%	38,000	8%
Ontario	92,000	47%	75,000	38%	112,000	9%	72,000	6%	43,000	6%	32,000	5%
Manitoba	14,000	65%	11,000	49%	14,000	12%	10,000	9%	6,000	8%	5,000	8%
Saskatchewan	12,000	46%	7,000	30%	8,000	8%	5,000	5%	5,000	9%	3,000	5%
Alberta	24,000	46%	17,000	34%	30,000	9%	23,000	7%	17,000	9%	10,000	5%
British Columbia	40,000	52%	32,000	41%	42,000	11%	32,000	8%	25,000	9%	19,000	7%
Canada	295,000	52%	236,000	41%	321,000	10%	224,000	7%	165,000	9%	117,000	6%

*Annually, the National Council of Welfare receives multiple requests for a breakdown in national poverty rates by province and even municipalities. We have provided such information as is statistically reliable. Note as well that there is no provincial table for senior couples as the numbers of these couples are too small to be reliable.

-- Sample size too small.

TABLE 2.26: POVERTY RATES FOR UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65, BY PROVINCE, 1999

PROVINCE	Unattached Individuals				Unattached Women				Unattached Men			
	Pre-Tax Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Post-Tax Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Pre-Tax Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Post-Tax Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Pre-Tax Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Post-Tax Number	Poverty Rate (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	21,000	56%	19,000	49%	10,000	62%	9,000	54%	11,000	51%	10,000	42%
Prince Edward Island	5,000	43%	4,000	35%	3,000	52%	2,000	42%	3,000	37%	2,000	30%
Nova Scotia	39,000	42%	34,000	37%	20,000	50%	18,000	44%	18,000	35%	16,000	31%
New Brunswick	22,000	39%	18,000	31%	8,000	39%	6,000	30%	14,000	38%	12,000	32%
Quebec	348,000	40%	328,000	37%	174,000	46%	166,000	44%	174,000	34%	162,000	32%
Ontario	353,000	34%	305,000	30%	164,000	37%	143,000	32%	189,000	33%	162,000	28%
Manitoba	40,000	39%	38,000	36%	17,000	42%	15,000	37%	23,000	37%	23,000	36%
Saskatchewan	36,000	36%	31,000	32%	15,000	42%	13,000	36%	21,000	33%	18,000	29%
Alberta	132,000	38%	114,000	33%	66,000	47%	56,000	40%	66,000	32%	58,000	28%
British Columbia	151,000	34%	131,000	30%	69,000	42%	61,000	37%	82,000	30%	71,000	26%
Canada	1,148,000	37%	1,023,000	33%	548,000	42%	490,000	38%	600,000	33%	534,000	30%

TABLE 2.27: POVERTY RATES FOR UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS 65 AND OVER, BY PROVINCE, 1999

PROVINCE	Unattached Individuals				Unattached Women				Unattached Men			
	Pre-Tax		Post-Tax		Pre-Tax		Post-Tax		Pre-Tax		Post-Tax	
	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)
Newfoundland and Labrador	8,000	51%	3,000	16%	7,000	63%	3,000	23%	--	--	--	--
Prince Edward Island	2,000	40%	--	6%	2,000	42%	--	--	--	--	--	--
Nova Scotia	16,000	41%	6,000	15%	14,000	47%	5,000	18%	--	--	--	--
New Brunswick	13,000	43%	3,000	10%	11,000	46%	3,000	11%	--	--	--	--
Quebec	174,000	58%	105,000	35%	142,000	63%	88,000	39%	32,000	45%	16,000	23%
Ontario	159,000	38%	79,000	19%	125,000	40%	60,000	19%	34,000	31%	19,000	18%
Manitoba	25,000	44%	10,000	19%	21,000	51%	9,000	23%	--	--	--	--
Saskatchewan	20,000	37%	4,000	7%	16,000	42%	3,000	8%	4,000	24%	--	--
Alberta	33,000	36%	14,000	16%	27,000	42%	11,000	16%	5,000	21%	--	--
British Columbia	68,000	40%	32,000	19%	52,000	46%	22,000	20%	16,000	28%	--	--
Canada	519,000	44%	256,000	22%	417,000	49%	204,000	24%	101,000	32%	53,000	17%

-- Sample size too small.

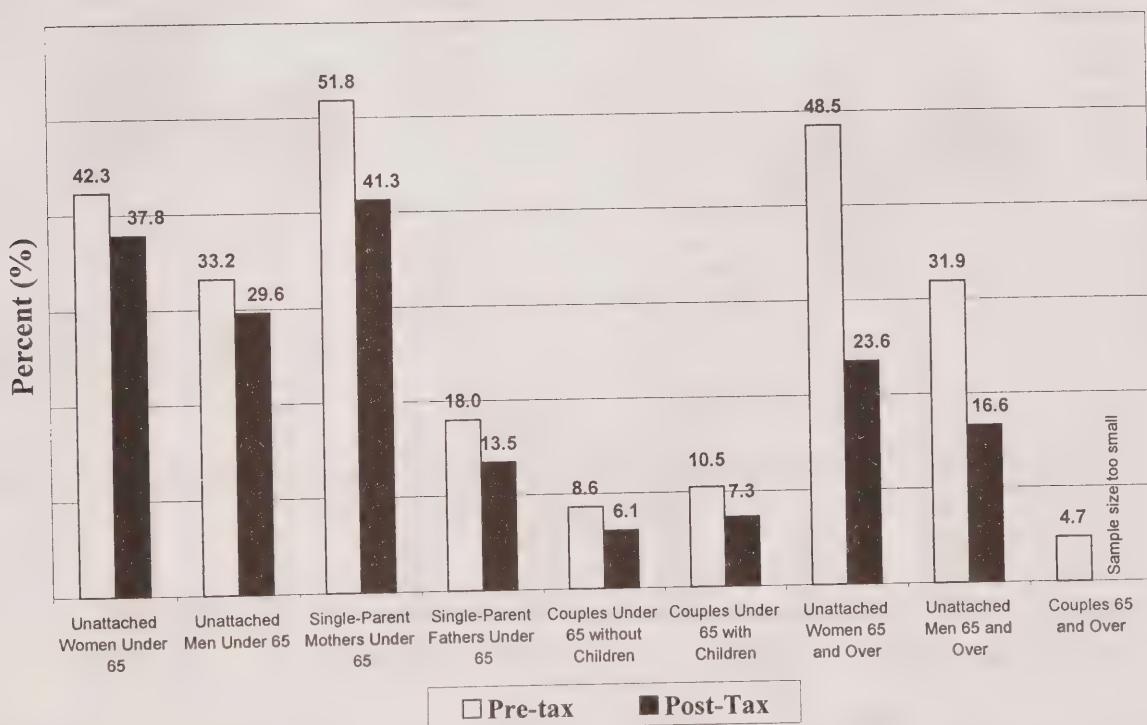
III. SNAPSHOTS OF POVERTY IN 1999

Poverty rates vary with family type, sex, age, employment, education, the size of the area of residence and type of dwelling. Among families with children, rates vary with the number and age of the children. Among immigrants, there are important differences based on the length of time in Canada.

FAMILY TYPE

For Canada, probably the most important overall determinant of the risk of poverty is family type. As we described in Chapter 2, family type refers to the sub-categories of families and unattached individuals that take account of age and gender as well as family circumstances. Figure 3.1 displays the pre-tax and post-tax poverty rates for the different family types. In this chapter, sample sizes are too small to provide information on single-parent fathers.

Figure 3.1: Poverty Rates by Family Type in Canada, 1999



The highest pre-tax poverty rate at 51.8 percent in 1999 belonged to single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 years of age. Poor unattached female seniors followed closely at 48.5 percent. Unattached women under 65 years of age were next with a poverty rate of 42.3 percent. Couples, especially senior couples, had significantly lower pre-tax poverty rates than single-parent mothers or unattached individuals.

Post-tax poverty rates were lower for all of the groups but the effect of taking taxes into account had a larger impact on seniors than on others. Single-parent mothers had the highest poverty rates, followed by unattached women under 65, then unattached men under 65. Single senior women were next with a poverty rate lower by 24.9 percent. The relative positions of other family types did not change. The large difference in pre- and post-tax rates for seniors reflects the fact that their sources of income are different, including incomes from government programs that are non-taxable.

The pie charts in Figures 3.2 and 3.3 show the number of poor families or poor unattached individuals by family type as a proportion of all poor families or of all poor unattached individuals, using both pre-tax and post-tax measures.

Figure 3.2: Distribution of Poor Families by Family Type, 1999

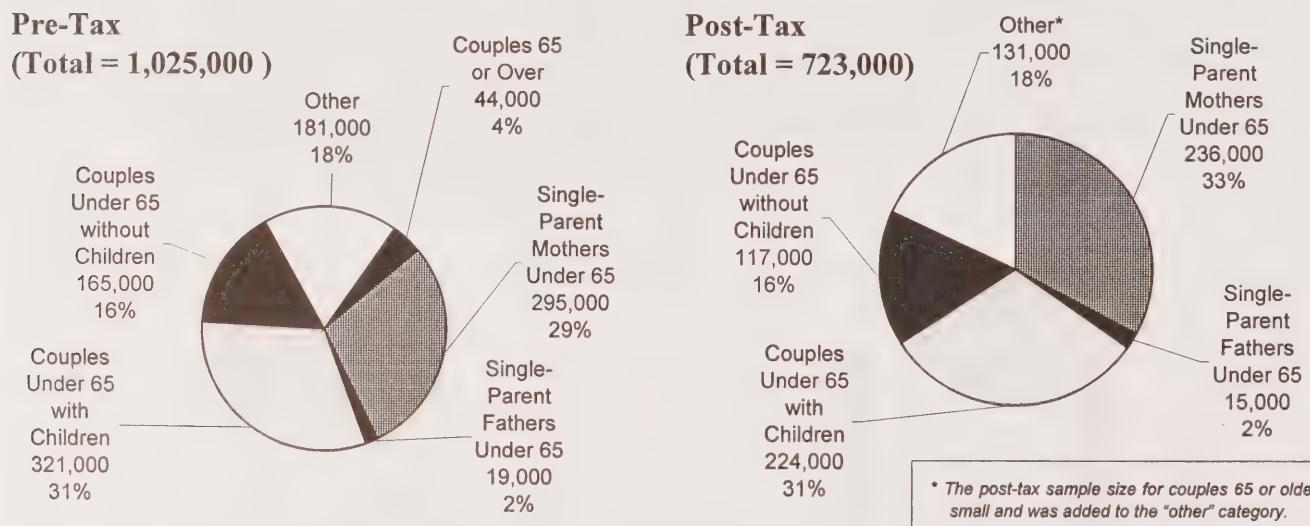


Figure 3.3: Distribution of Poor Unattached Individuals by Sex and Age, 1999

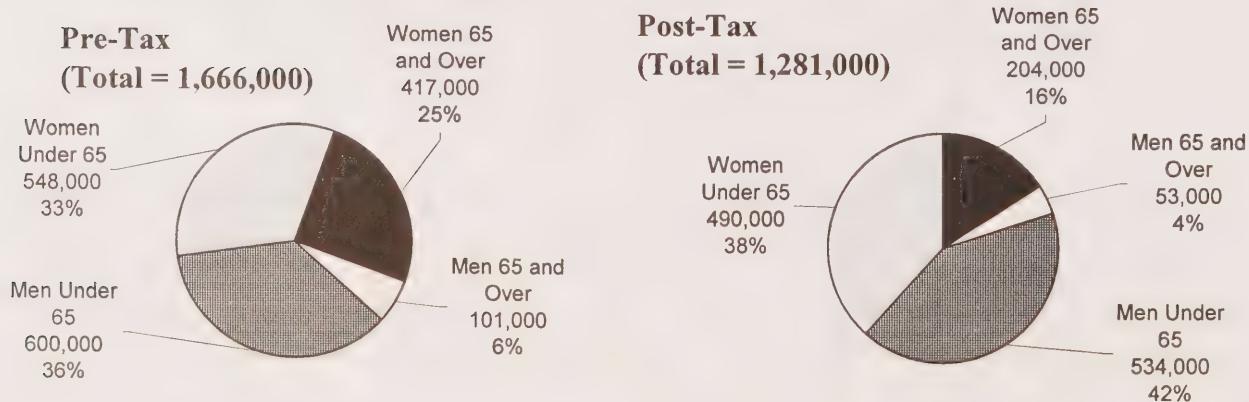
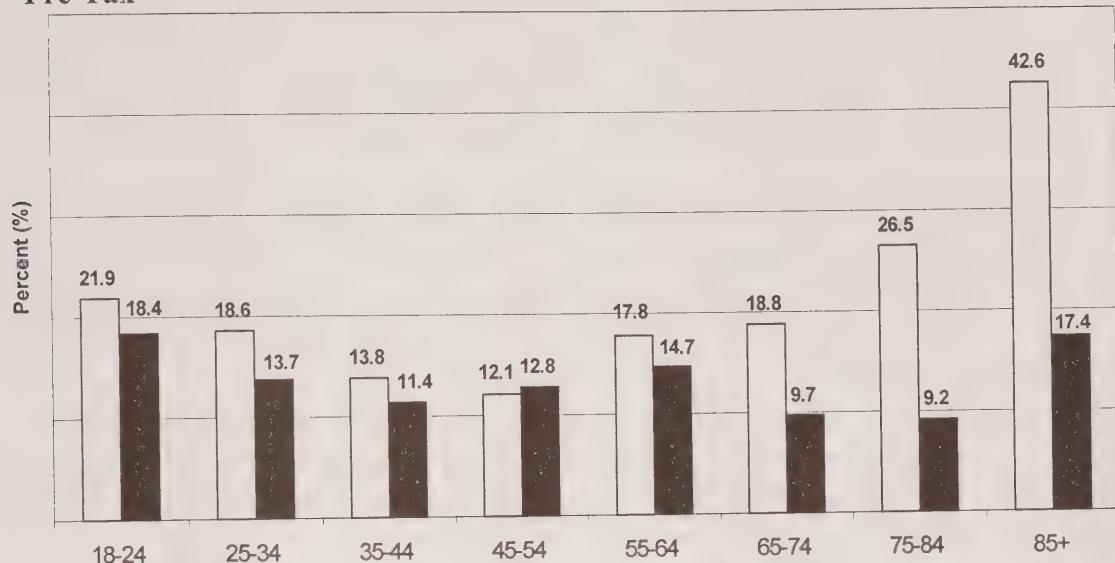
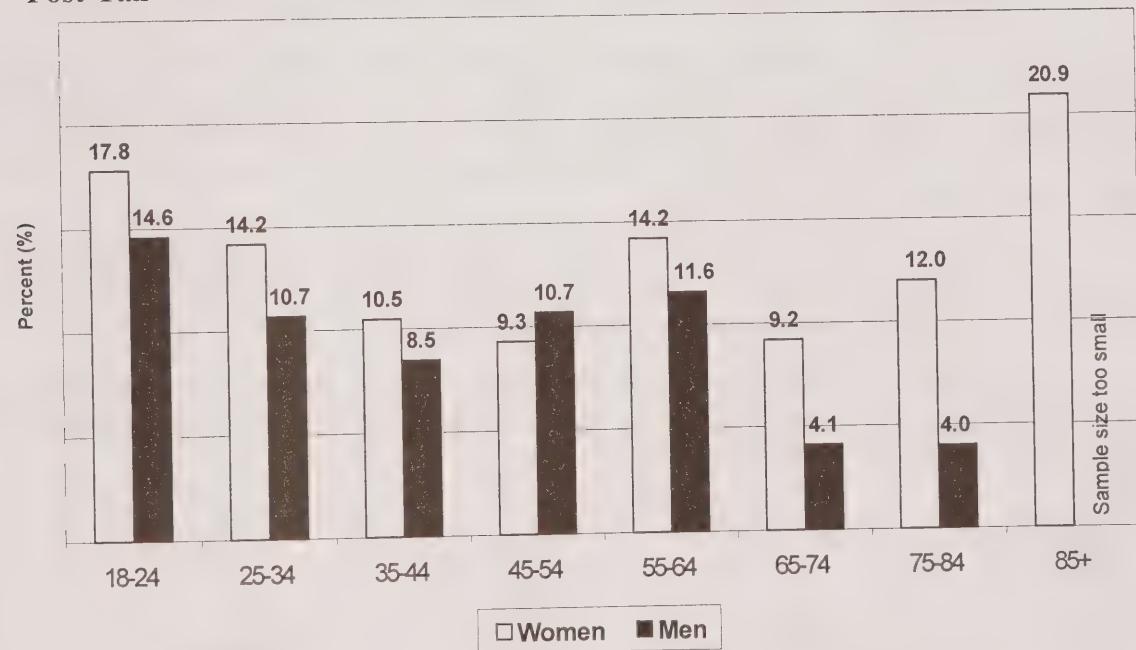


Figure 3.4: Poverty Rates by Age Group and Sex, 1999

Pre-Tax



Post-Tax



DIFFERENCES BY AGE, SEX AND FAMILY TYPE

Figure 3.4 gives the pre-tax and post-tax poverty rates for men and women by age, irrespective of their family status. With the exception of persons aged 45 to 54 years, the rates for women were higher in all cases than the rates for men. The differences between women and men were most pronounced in the oldest groups.

The pre-tax and the post-tax poverty rates for both men and women were relatively high for the age group 18 to 24. That partly reflected both higher unemployment rates among young people and lower entry wages for young people than for experienced workers.

Poverty rates for women declined in the age groups that follow until the age group 55 to 64. Poverty rates for men declined until the age group 45 to 54; they then dropped between 65 and 84 years only to rise again from 85 years. Higher poverty rates for older working age men and women tend to reflect the difficulties older workers have when they lose their jobs.

The higher poverty rates for women aged 55 and older than for their male counterparts reflect significant gender-based differences in labour force attachment, in life expectancy, in marital status and in health or disability status. Generally, women have higher life expectancy than men. In 1999, women were 57 percent of the senior population, many of them living alone, and we have consistently shown in this publication that unattached persons have higher poverty rates than couples.

Senior women had less linkage to the labour force, compared to older men. In 1999, only 3 percent of senior women relative to 10 percent of male seniors were gainfully employed.¹ Additionally, 22 percent of senior women compared to only 3 percent of senior men stated that they had never worked outside the home.²

DIFFERENCES BY AGE OF MAJOR INCOME EARNER

Figure 3.5 provides additional information about pre- and post-tax poverty rates by age group among people under 65. The charts highlight some interesting differences among family types according to the age of the major income earner. Both charts feature the poverty rates for couples with children under 18, single-parent mothers, couples with no children under 18 and unattached women and men.

As Figure 3.5 shows, generally, pre-tax poverty rates were highest for young family heads and lowest for older family heads³. However, regardless of the age category, single-parent mothers had the highest poverty rates among family heads.

For couples with no children under 18, the pre-tax poverty rate was also highest for the age group under 25 but lowest for the group aged 25 to 44 rather than for the older group. The same patterns are found in the post-tax rates.

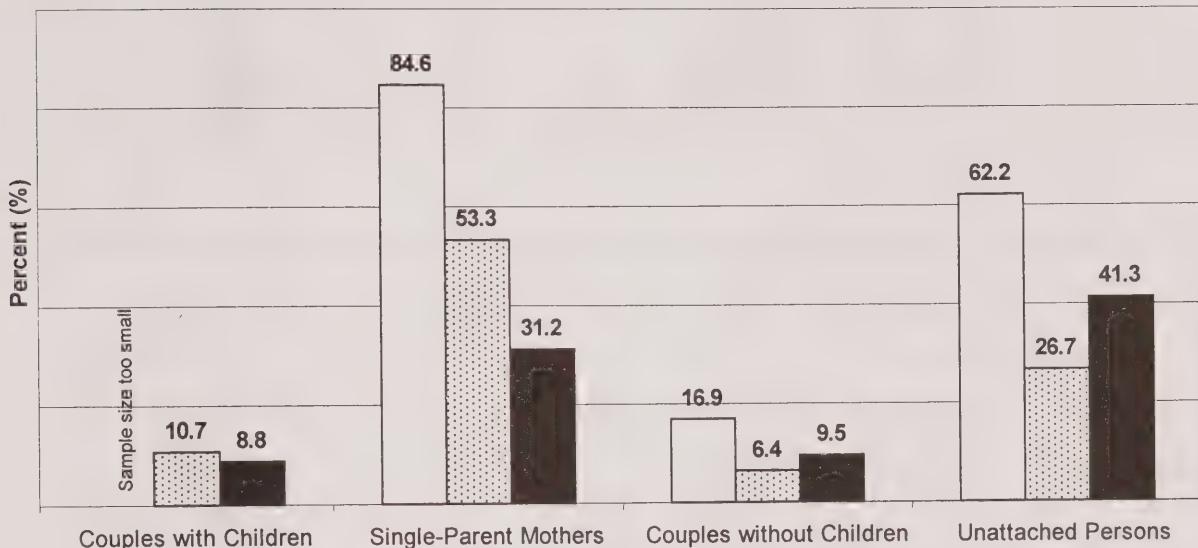
¹ Lindsay, Colin, "Chapter 12: Senior Women", *Women in Canada 2000: A Gender-Based Statistical Report*, Statistics Canada, 2000: p. 275.

² Ibid.

³ The sample sizes for couples under 25 with children under 18 and for single parent fathers in all age categories were too small to be reliable.

Figure 3.5: Poverty Rates by Family Type and Age of Major Income Earner, 1999

Pre-Tax



Post-Tax

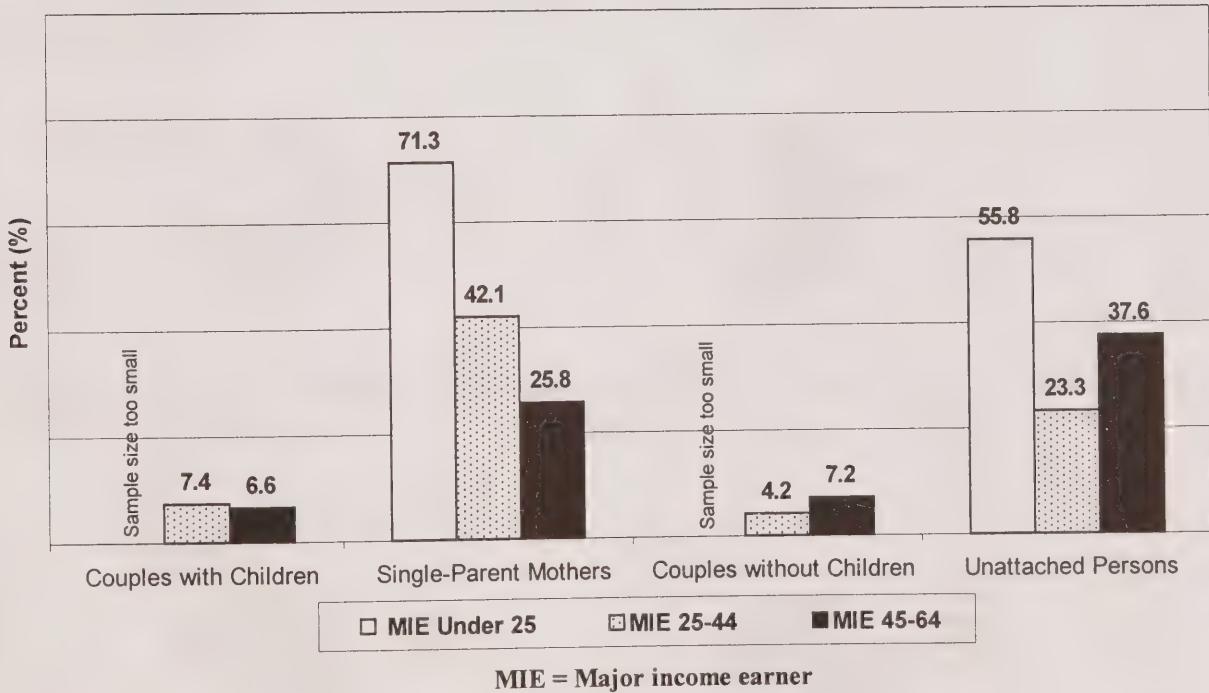


Figure 3.6: Distribution of Poor Couples Under 65 with Children Under 18, by Age of Major Income Earner, 1999

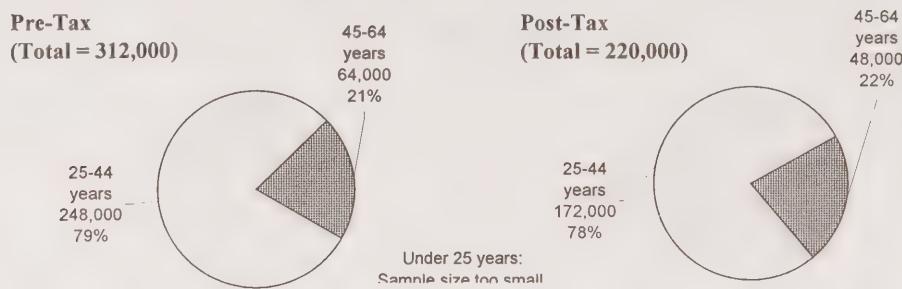


Figure 3.7: Distribution of Poor Single-Parent Mothers, by Age, 1999

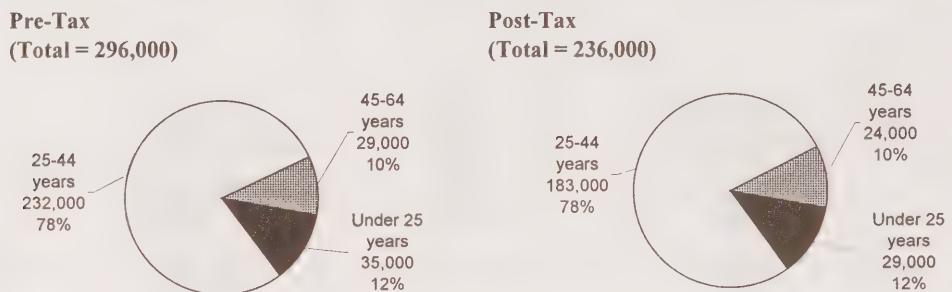


Figure 3.8: Distribution of Poor Couples Under 65 without Children Under 18, by Age of Major Income Earner, 1999

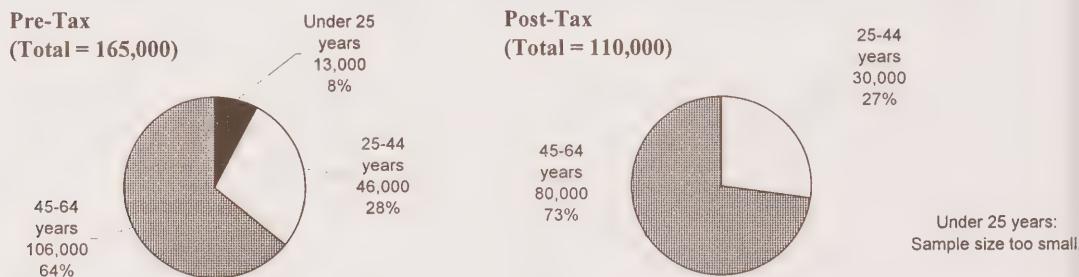
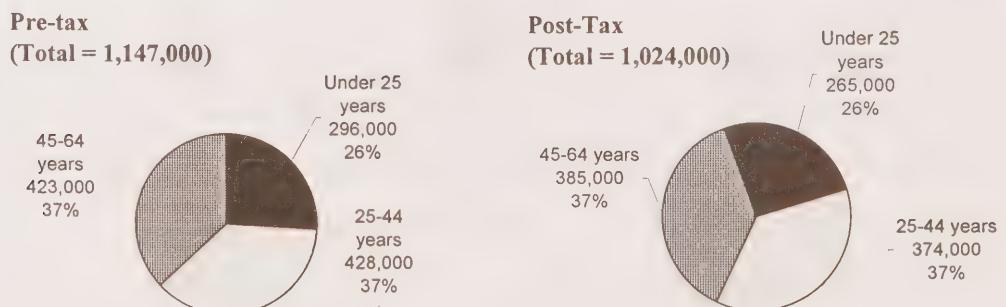


Figure 3.9: Distribution of Poor Unattached Individuals Under 65, by Age, 1999



Figures 3.6 to 3.9 present additional information on the distribution of families and unattached persons by their age group. Parents in the age group 25 to 44 years represent more than three-quarters of couples with children. This is not surprising given that the 20s and 30s are prime child-bearing years. It is also notable that 88 percent of single-parent mothers living in poverty are 25 years of age or older. Young single mothers under 25 are often the stereotype of single motherhood but they make up a modest 12 percent of the total.

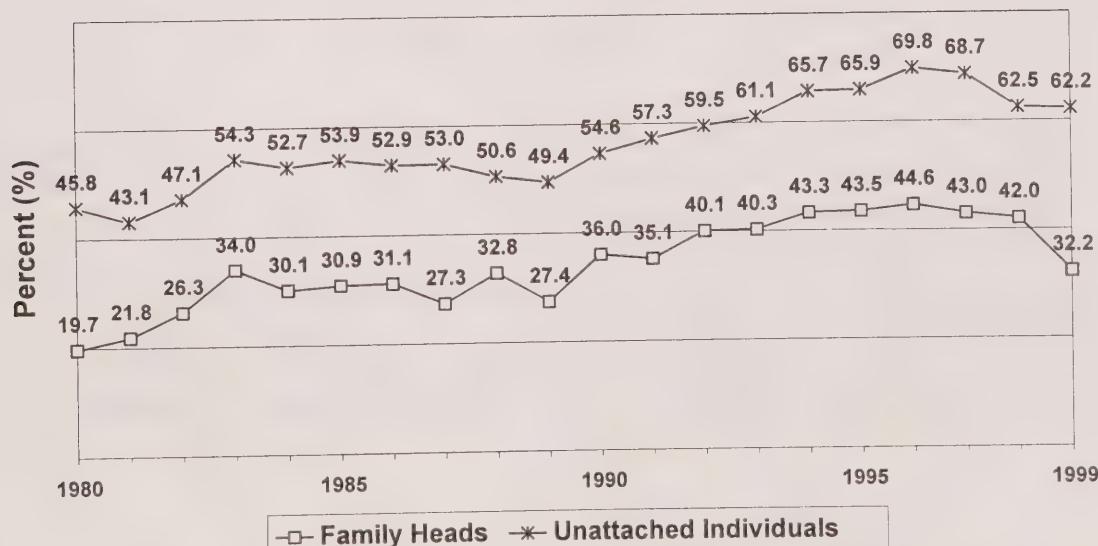
The high poverty rates for older couples without children and older unattached people are doubly disturbing because of the large number of poor people in the age group 45 through 64. Figures 3.6 to 3.9 show that the 45 to 64 age group accounted for more than 60 percent of poor couples with no children under 18 and for 37 percent of poor unattached persons under 65 in 1999.

The link between ageing and poverty among couples without children and unattached people 45 to 64 probably reflects the difficulties in the labour market facing older workers and increasing problems with health or disabilities. Some of the older unattached persons would also include widows and widowers who fell into poverty on the death of a spouse.

Poverty among young families and young unattached people continues to be a concern. Figure 3.10 shows the poverty rates for families headed by people under 25 and unattached individuals under 25 from 1980 to 1999. Poverty rates for unattached people rose following the recession of 1981-1982 and remained at very high levels for most of the rest of the decade. After a slight dip in 1989, rates began rising again and hit a high of 69.8 percent in 1996 before falling to 62.2 percent in 1999.

The picture was a bit less gloomy for young families, but the 1999 poverty rates were still much higher than 1980 levels. As Figure 3.10 shows, the pre-tax poverty rate for families under 25 peaked at 44.6 percent in 1996 and dropped to 32.2 percent in 1999.

Figure 3.10: Pre-Tax Poverty Rates for Family Heads and Unattached Individuals Under 25, 1980-1999

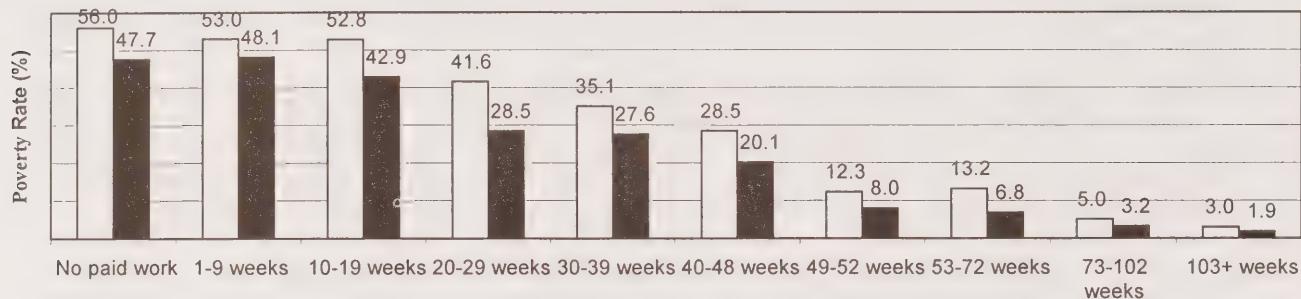


WORK ACTIVITY

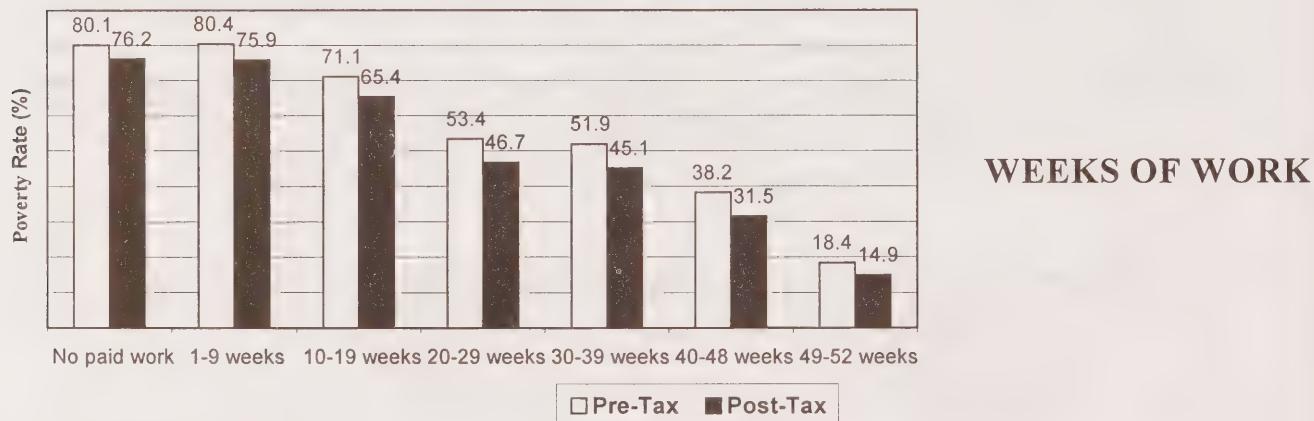
A good job is the best insurance against poverty for many Canadians under the age of 65. One of the most revealing ways of showing how the risk of poverty decreases as work activity increases is to look at the number of weeks worked during the year.

Figure 3.11: Poverty Rates by Weeks of Work, 1999

Families Under 65



Unattached Individuals Under 65



WEEKS OF WORK

Figure 3.11 demonstrates that poverty rates among families with heads under 65 and among unattached individuals declined as weeks of work increased. In this figure, the number of weeks worked for a family includes weeks of work by the major income earner plus weeks of work by a spouse in the case of couples. All the couples with only one wage-earner and all single-parent families are covered by the bars in the graph that end at 49 to 52 weeks of work. The remaining bars represent families where two partners together worked a total of more than 52 weeks. The pre-tax poverty rate for couples working 103 or more weeks in 1999 (the equivalent of two full-year jobs) was 3 percent; the post-tax rate was 1.9 percent.

In Figure 3.11, the pre-tax poverty rate for unattached persons with no paid work was 80.1 percent in 1999. The comparable rate for unattached persons with only one to nine weeks of work in 1999 was even higher at 80.4 percent. The pre-tax rate steadily decreased as the number of weeks worked increased to a low of 18.4 percent for those who worked for 49 to 52 weeks. Post-tax poverty rates for unattached individuals were about four to five percentage points lower across the board but the pattern was similar.

Even a full year of work does not always insulate a person from poverty. As Figures 3.12 and 3.13 show, before accounting for taxes, 330,000 poor unattached persons under 65 worked between 49 and 52 weeks and 90,000 families were poor even when husbands and wives together worked for 103 or more weeks during the year.

NUMBER AND AGE OF CHILDREN

We have seen that poverty rates vary substantially by family type. Rates for two-parent families are relatively low, and rates for families led by single-parents mothers are staggeringly high. Within these general ranges, the rates vary noticeably with the number and age of children.

The graphs in Figure 3.14 show the poverty rates for two family types with children.⁴ Although the patterns are not perfect, the two graphs suggest that poverty rates increase with the number of children but decrease once the youngest child reaches school age.

For example, look at the pre-tax poverty rates in Figure 3.14 for families led by single-parent mothers with two children. The poverty rate for these families when both children were under age seven was 78.6 percent in 1999. The rate drops to 65.7 percent when the two children were of mixed age groups - one under seven and one seven to 17. The lowest rate was 43.7 percent when both children were seven or older.

⁴ The sample estimates for single-parent fathers were too small to be statistically reliable. The post-tax sample size for single-parent mothers with three or more children under seven years of age was also too small.

Figure 3.12: Distribution of Poor Families Under 65 by Weeks of Work, 1999

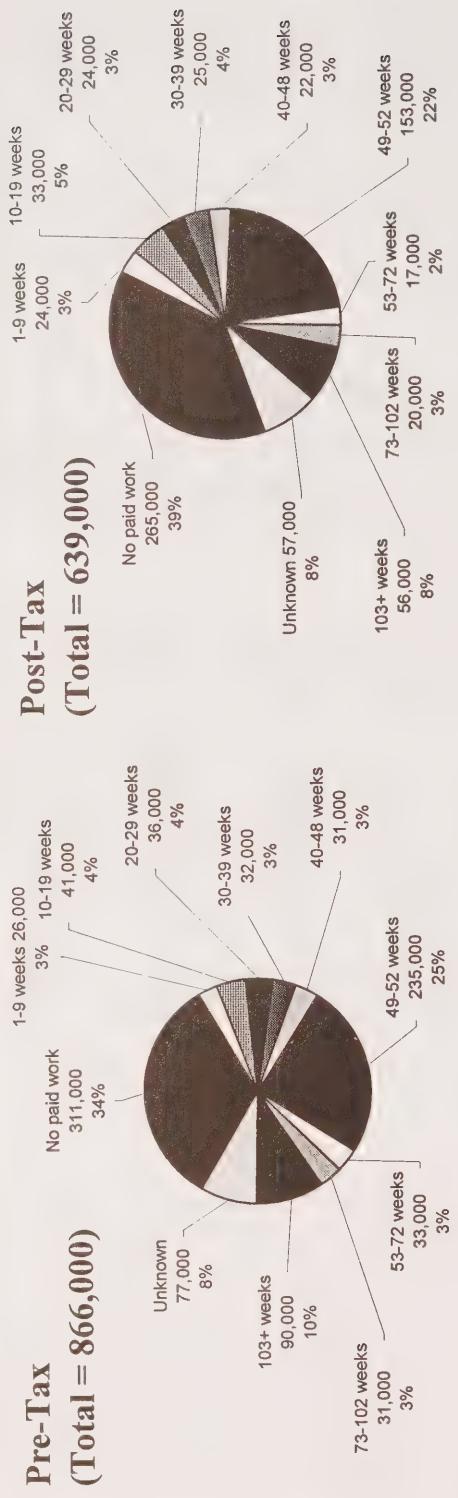


Figure 3.13: Distribution of Poor Unattached Individuals Under 65 by Weeks of Work, 1999

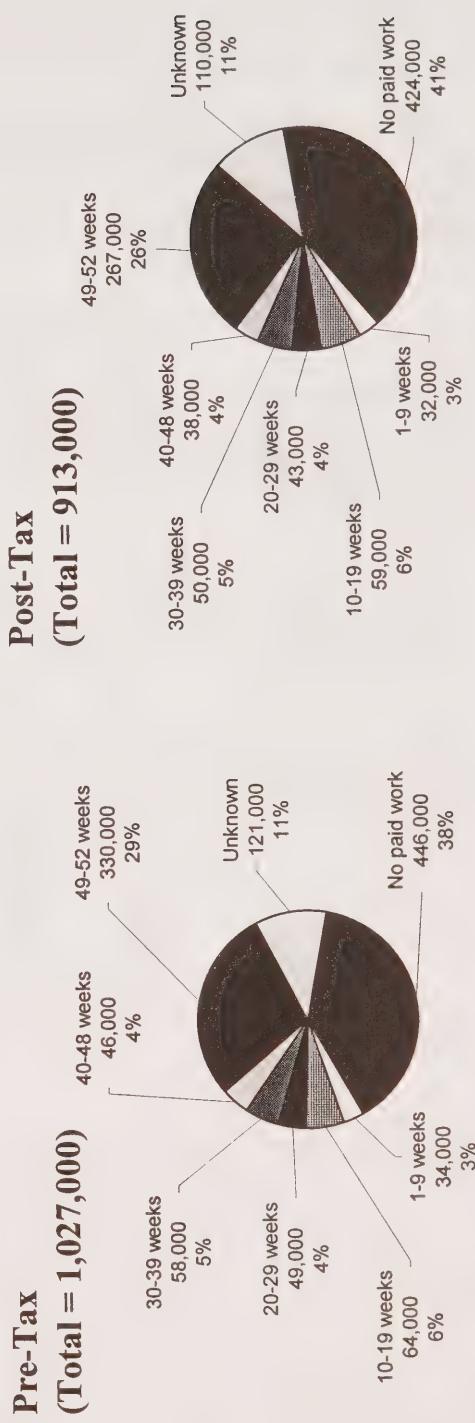
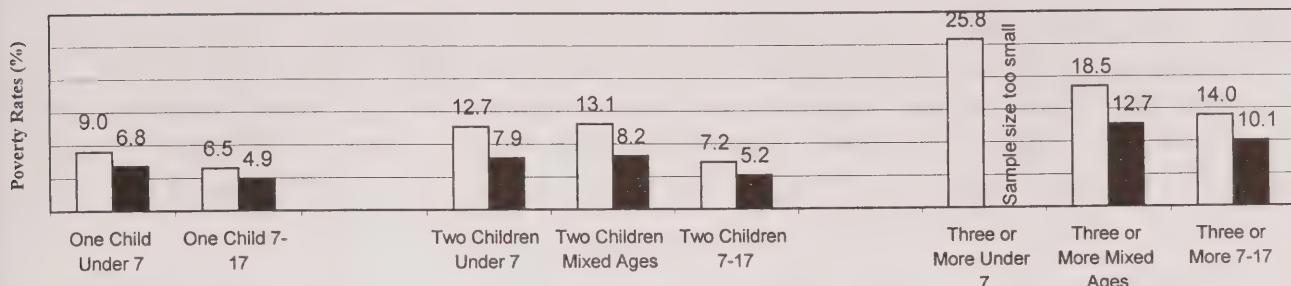
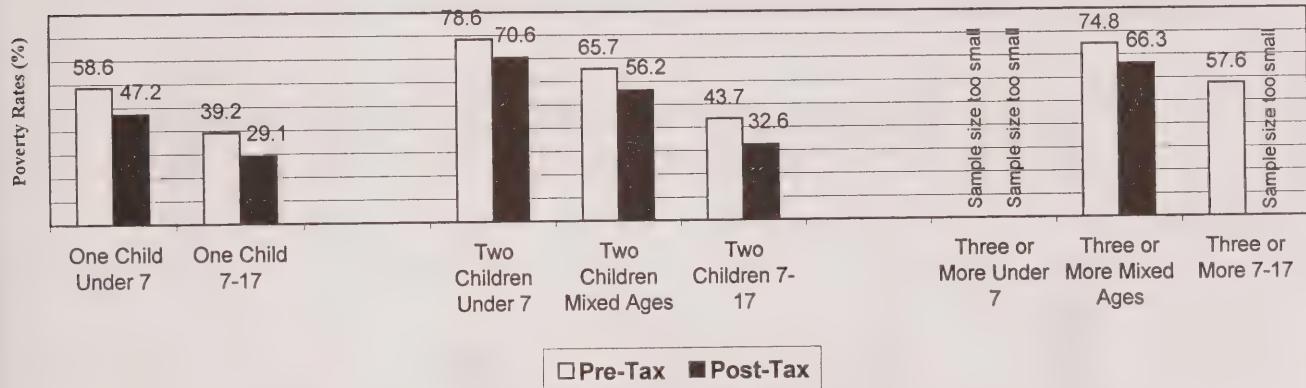


Figure 3.14: Poverty Rates by Number and Age Group of Children Under 18, 1999

Two-Parent Families Under 65



Single-Parent Mothers Under 65



In Canada, the risk of poverty is higher for families of all types with very young children because the job of caring for infants and toddlers often keeps one parent, usually the mother, out of the labour force completely for a period of time or limits the amount of time available for paid work. For most Canadian families with children, the absence of high-quality, affordable childcare is a major problem. The problem is especially acute for single parents who receive little or no support from the child's other parent.

In a recent report using measures of poverty different from ours, the United Nations Children's Fund found that in countries such as Sweden and Norway, poverty rates tended to be higher for single-parent households than for two-parent families as well.⁵ The U.N. poverty rate for Canada for single-parent mothers was about 51.6 percent, however, while for Sweden the comparable rate was only 6.7 percent. Canada was still ahead of the United States by about 3 percentage points but it lagged behind the United Kingdom by about 5 percentage points.

⁵ *A League Table of Child Poverty in Rich Nations*, Innocenti Report Card, United Nations Children's Fund, Innocenti Research Centre (Florence, Italy; Page 10).

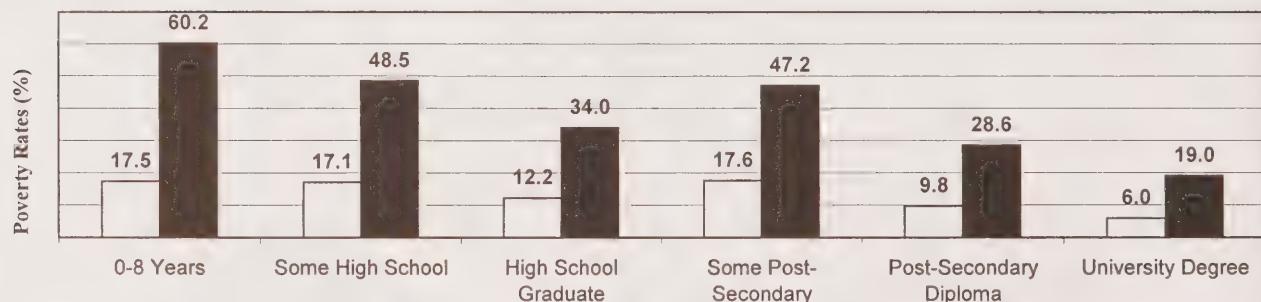
The reason behind the Canadian and Nordic differences in poverty rates for families with children, especially those headed by single parents, lies primarily in the type of active labour market and taxation policies pursued by each of these countries rather than in differences in economic growth or national wealth. Both Norway and Sweden recognize that quality labour force attachment is a key poverty-reduction tool. They also recognize that access to affordable childcare is vital to labour force attachment for families with children, especially those headed by single parents. Accordingly, Nordic countries have given greater priority to the provision of childcare and other supports for families with children. In contrast, the number of registered childcare spaces in Canada is severely limited and varies from one province to another.

EDUCATION

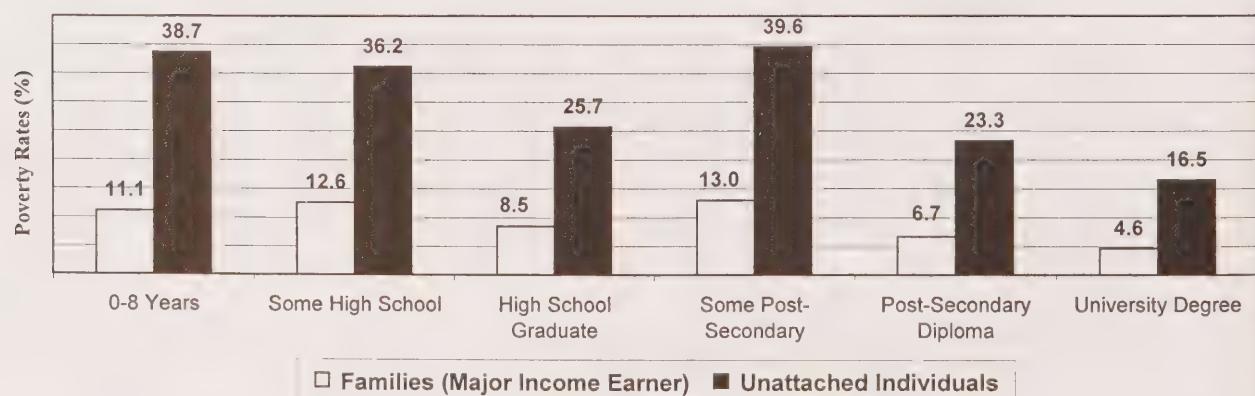
The risk of poverty tends to decrease as people get more schooling. Figure 3.15 shows that the pre-tax poverty rates for unattached persons in 1999 fell more or less steadily from 60.2 percent for individuals who had less than nine years of primary education to 19 percent for people with university degrees. Post-tax poverty rates follow a similar pattern.

Figure 3.15: Poverty Rates by Highest Level of Education Completed, 1999

Pre-Tax



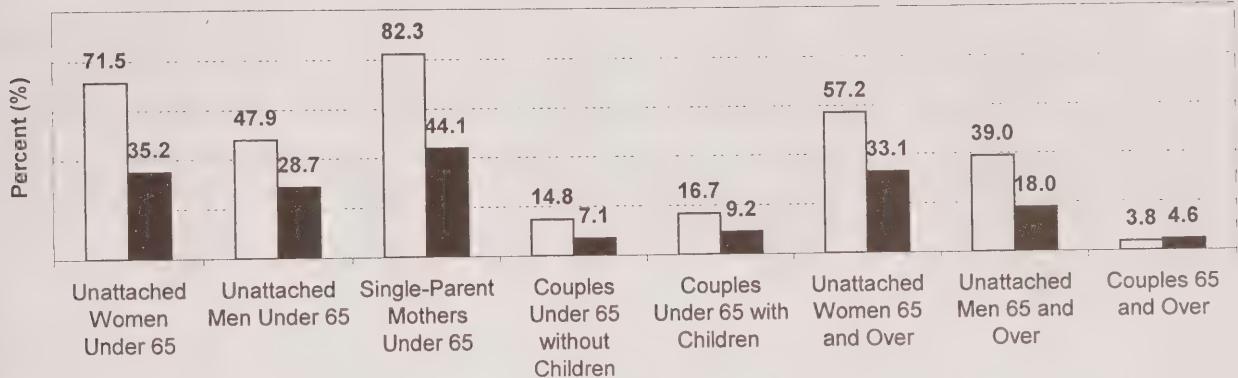
Post-Tax



The two charts show that heads of families generally had lower and flatter poverty rates than unattached individuals. However, education also emerged as a moderate predictor of poverty rates among heads of families. The two highest pre-tax rates were 17.5 percent for heads of families with less than eight years of education and 17.6 percent for heads of families with some post-secondary education. The lowest pre-tax rate was 6 percent for those with university degrees. A reason why level of education is not neatly inversely related with poverty rates is due to the fact that many persons with some post-secondary education or some high school are either mature students or persons between the ages of 18 and 24 years.

Figure 3.16: Poverty Rates by Family Type and Level of Education Completed, 1999

Pre-Tax



Post-Tax

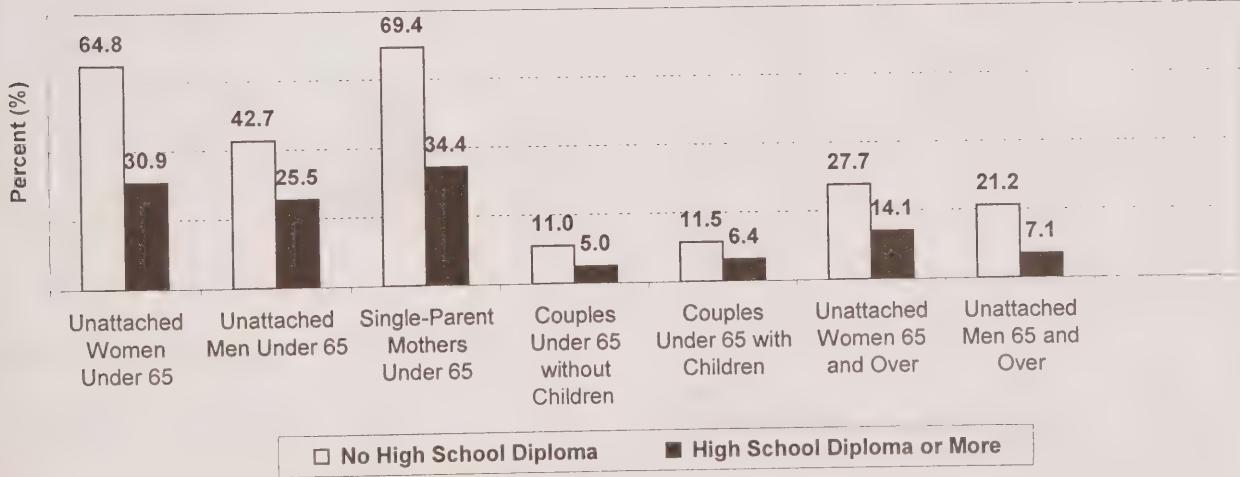


Figure 3.16 shows how poverty rates vary by family type and level of education attained. For both high school graduates and non-graduates, single-parent mothers and unattached individuals have higher poverty rates than couples. The poverty rate for families led by single-

parent mothers with less than a high school education was 82.3 percent, the highest rate among all those who did not graduate from high school. Single-parent mothers who did graduate had a poverty rate of 48.4 percent - again the highest of any family type, but much lower than the rate for single-parent mothers without high school diplomas. This shows that family type and level of education both influence a person's risk of poverty.

Poor education can be both a cause of poverty and an effect. Young people who drop out of school may be poor because they lack the skills needed to get good jobs. On the other hand, young women who drop out of school if they get pregnant may be poor because of the hardships associated with single parenthood. The fact that they are poorly educated is a result of their family circumstances rather than an immediate cause of poverty.

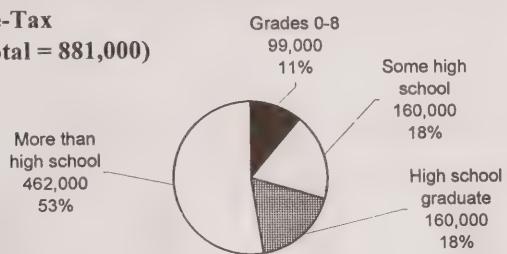
Education has become much more important as a requirement for many jobs in recent decades. It is not surprising to find a marked difference in the poverty statistics by level of education when they are broken down into people under 65 and people 65 and older.

The charts in Figure 3.17 present the distribution of poor working-age family heads and poor unattached individuals by the level of education of the major income earner in 1999. They highlight that the majority of people living in poverty under 65 had more than a high school education. For the senior population living in poverty the situation is quite different where large proportions have less than nine years of education. This may be a very important factor affecting seniors' access to benefits and services.

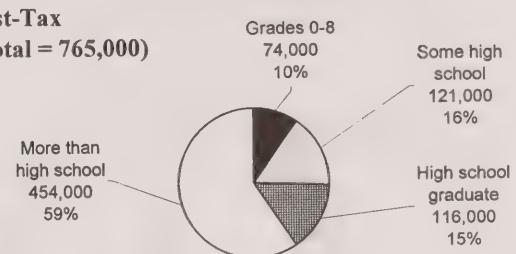
Figure 3.17: Distribution of Poor Families and Unattached Individuals by Level of Completed Education of Major Income Earner, 1999

FAMILIES UNDER 65

**Pre-Tax
(Total = 881,000)**

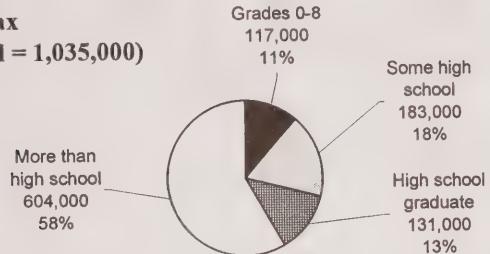


**Post-Tax
(Total = 765,000)**

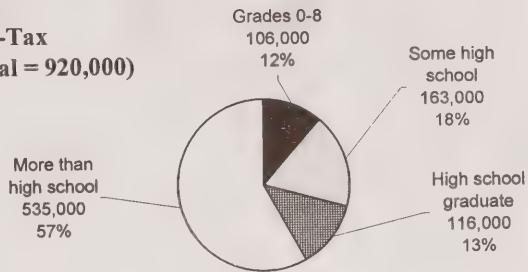


UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65

**Pre-tax
(Total = 1,035,000)**



**Post-Tax
(Total = 920,000)**



FAMILIES 65 AND OVER

**Pre-Tax
(Total=70,000)**

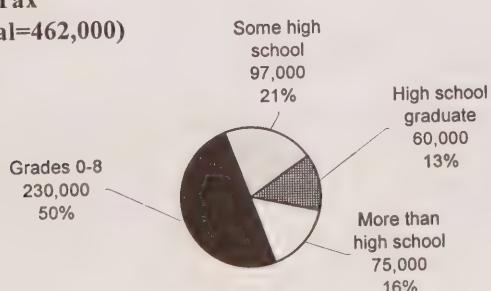


Post-Tax

Sample size too small

UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS 65 AND OVER

**Pre-Tax
(Total=462,000)**



**Post-Tax
(Total=248,000)**

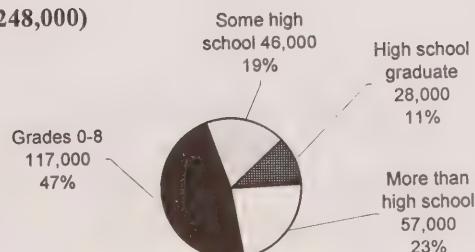
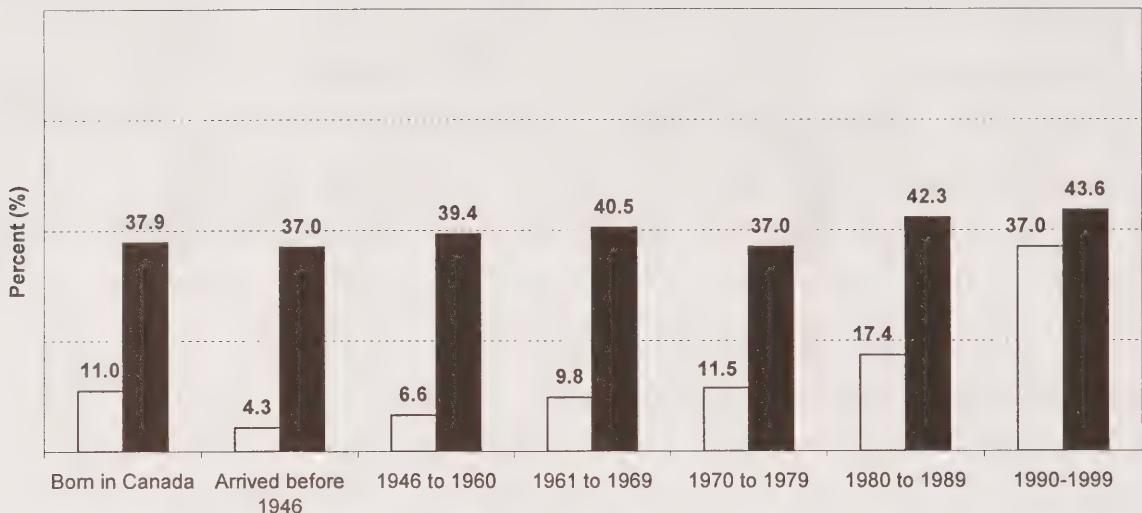
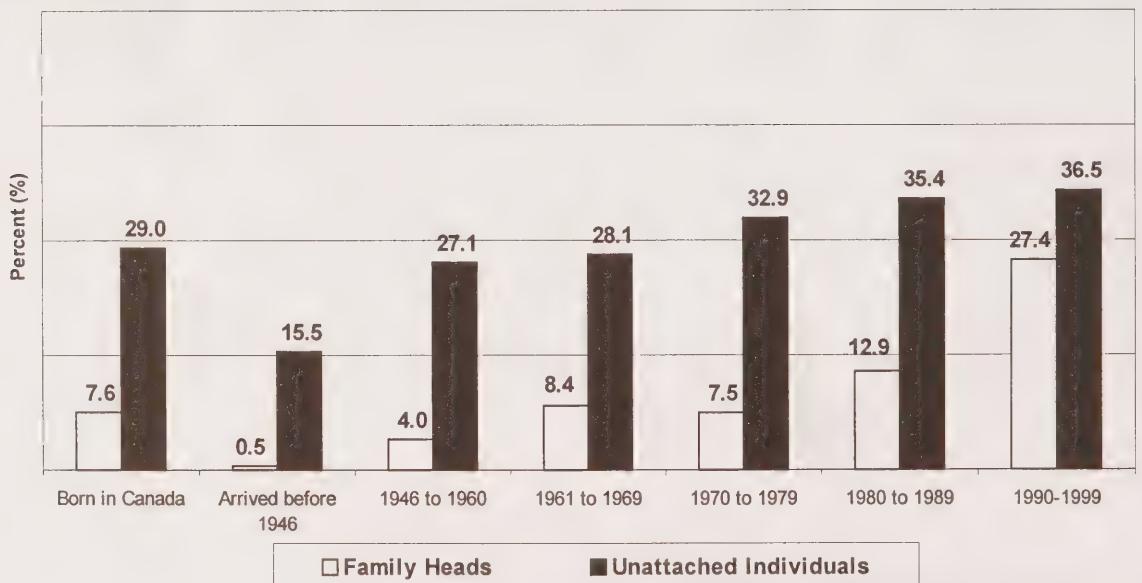


Figure 3.18: Poverty Rates for Immigrants, by Period of Immigration, 1999

Pre-Tax



Post-Tax



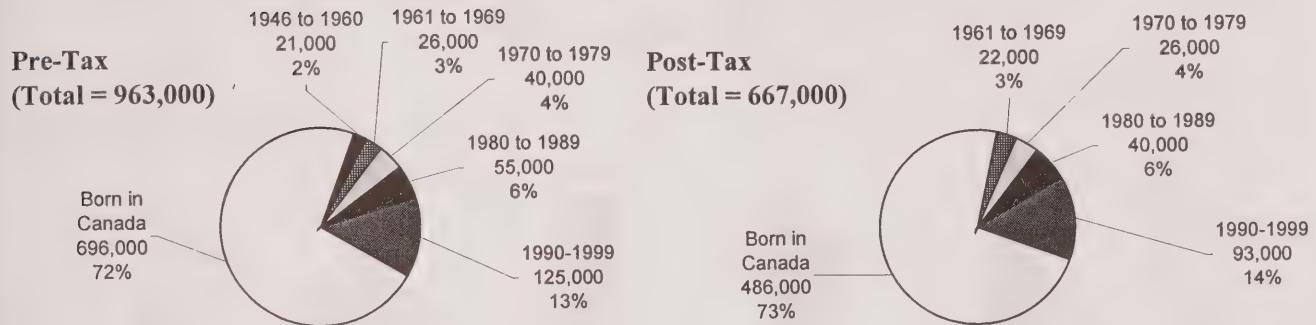
YEAR OF IMMIGRATION

Poverty rates are generally lower for unattached individuals and families headed by people born in Canada than for comparable groups of recent immigrants. The reasons for the discrepancies vary. Timing of the arrival of immigrants seems to be a factor: poverty rates among immigrants who arrive during periods of boom are generally lower than among

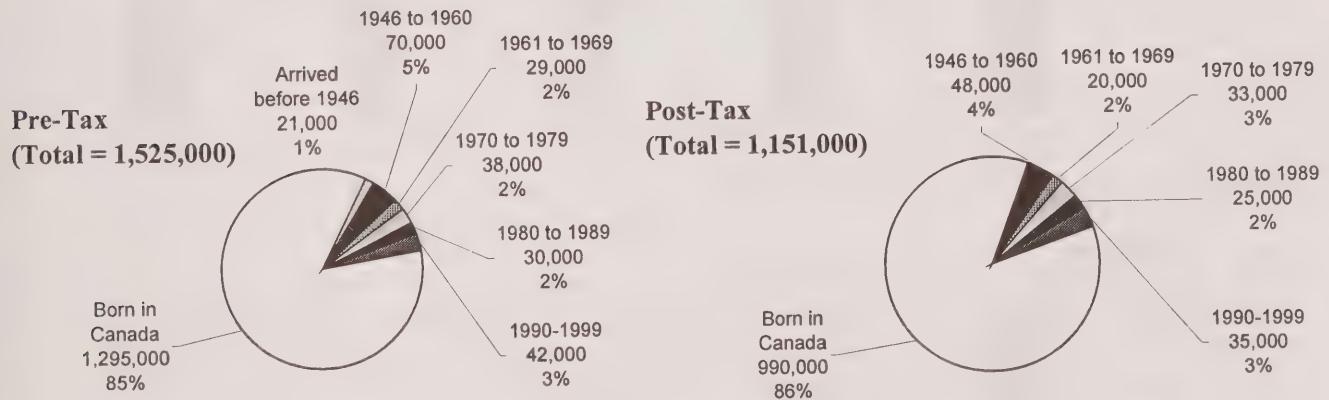
immigrants who arrive in periods of recession. Workplace barriers may also play a role. Though highly skilled, many immigrants often have to meet stringent accreditation criteria by professional bodies, particularly at the provincial level. In Chapter 7, we demonstrate that poverty rates are higher among immigrants who are visible minorities. Figure 3.19 shows the distribution of poor families and unattached individuals by period of immigration.

Figure 3.19: Distribution of Poor Families and Unattached Individuals by Period of Immigration, 1999

FAMILIES



UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS



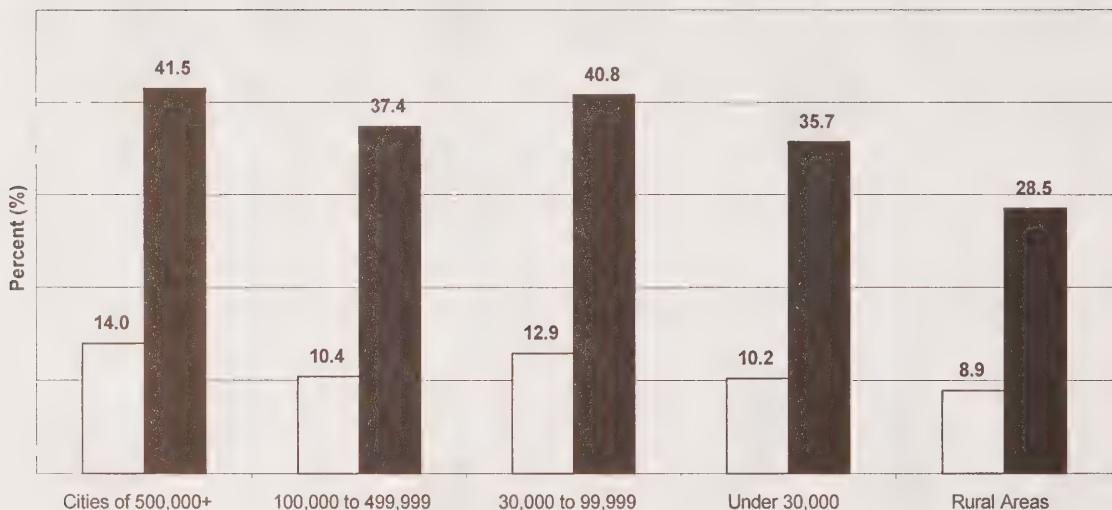
AREA OF RESIDENCE

The charts in Figure 3.20 show poverty among families and unattached people by the size of their communities. They show that poverty rates are higher in large cities than in small towns and rural areas for both families and unattached individuals.

Figure 3.21 shows the distribution of poor families and unattached individuals by community size. In 1999, 54 percent of all poor families and 54 percent of all poor unattached people lived in cities of half a million people or more, using pre-tax measures. Using post-tax measures, an even greater majority of poor families and individuals lived in the largest cities.

Figure 3.20: Poverty Rates by Size of Area of Residence, 1999

Pre-Tax



Post-Tax

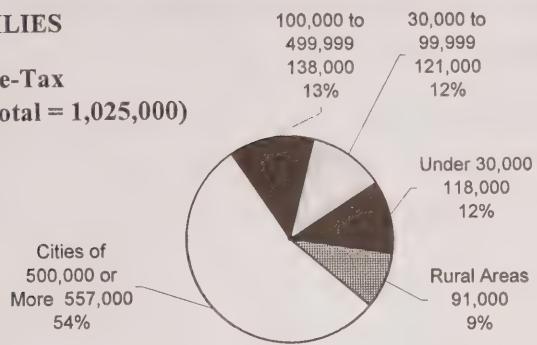


Figure 3.21: Distribution of Poor Families and Unattached Individuals by Size of Area of Residence, 1999

FAMILIES

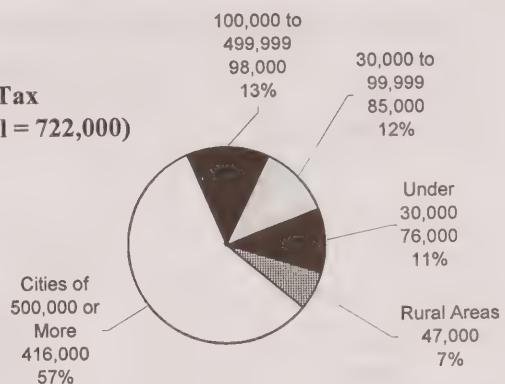
Pre-Tax

(Total = 1,025,000)



Post-Tax

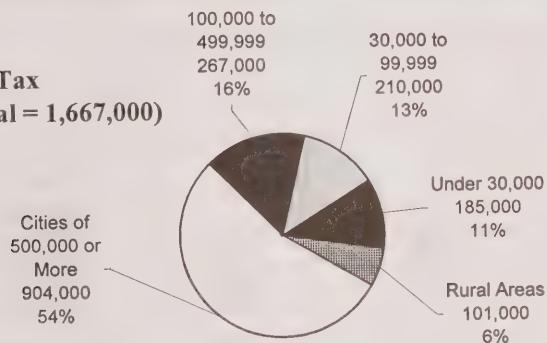
(Total = 722,000)



UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS

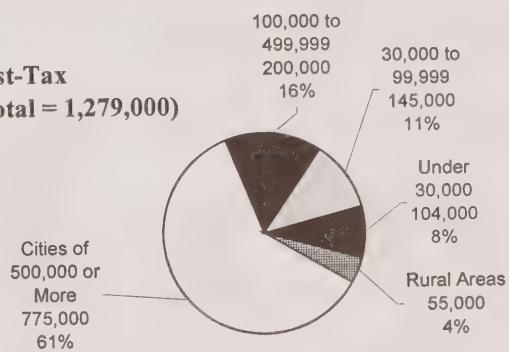
Pre-Tax

(Total = 1,667,000)



Post-Tax

(Total = 1,279,000)



DWELLING TENURE

As the charts in Figure 3.22 show, poverty rates are higher for families and unattached individuals who do not own their own dwelling.

Among all families, poverty rates are several times lower for those who own their dwellings compared to those who rent or have other arrangements. Generally, the poverty rate for unattached individuals is higher, holding dwelling tenure constant. The poverty rate for families who own their own dwelling is 6.4 percent compared to 28.9 percent among unattached individuals who own their dwelling.

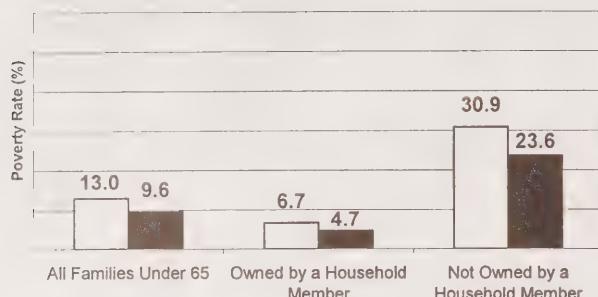
There are also significant differences between seniors and non-seniors. The pre-tax poverty rate of 15.3 percent for older families who did not own their own house was about half of the pre-tax poverty rate of 30.9 percent for families whose major income earner is less than 65 years of age. In contrast, poverty rates were higher for unattached individuals 65 years or older than for unattached individuals under 65.

The majority of poor families under 65 do not own their dwelling whereas the majority of poor senior families are owners. For unattached individuals, the majority in both age groups

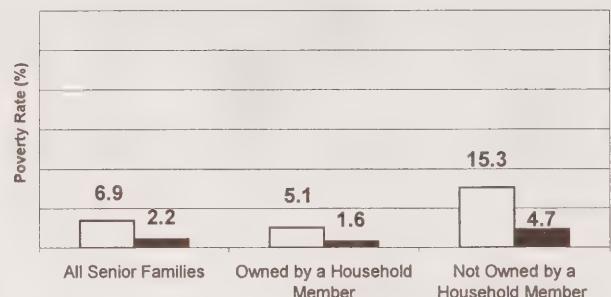
are not owners but there is still a significant difference by age with poor older unattached individuals more likely to be owners than their younger counterparts.

Figure 3.22: Poverty Rates of Families and Unattached Individuals by Dwelling Tenure, 1999

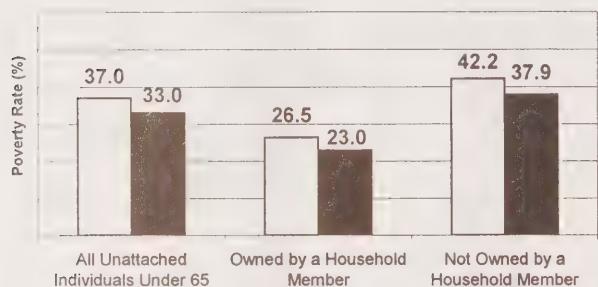
Families Under 65



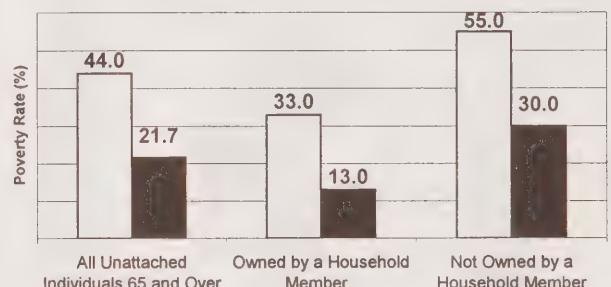
Families 65 and Over



Unattached Individuals Under 65



Unattached Individuals 65 and Over



□ Pre-Tax ■ Post-Tax

TABLE 3.23: DISTRIBUTION OF POOR FAMILIES AND POOR UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS, BY DWELLING TENURE, 1999

	Pre-Tax		Post-Tax	
	Owned by a Household Member	Not Owned by a Household Member	Owned by a Household Member	Not Owned by a Household Member
All Families	397,000	565,000	260,000	419,000
Families Under 65	348,000	539,000	245,000	412,000
Families 65 and Over	49,000	26,000	15,000	--
All Unattached Individuals	469,000	1,090,000	313,000	872,000
Unattached Individuals Under 65	271,000	791,000	235,000	710,000
Unattached Individuals 65 and Over	199,000	299,000	78,000	163,000

-- Sample size too small.

IV. POOR CANADIANS AND THEIR SOURCES OF INCOME

In other chapters we consider the financial plight of poor people in terms of depth and duration of poverty. In this chapter, we examine the degree to which they are excluded from the benefits of economic prosperity in Canada by comparing their incomes to the average incomes of non-poor Canadians, according to family type. We also assess the risk of being poor according to sources of income.

Table 4.1 presents the 1999 pre-tax and post-tax average incomes of poor Canadians and non-poor Canadians by family type. It shows that the average incomes of non-poor Canadians were, at the very least, more than twice the average incomes of poor Canadians for virtually all of the family types. For example, among couples without children, the average incomes of the poor were less than a fifth of the average incomes of the more affluent.

There is also a significant gender gap in the incomes of both poor and non-poor Canadians. Generally, families headed by men had higher average incomes than families headed by women. For example, among non-poor unattached individuals under 65 years of age, the pre-tax income of women (\$26,017) was, on average, \$4,895 less than the pre-tax income of men (\$30,912). Similarly, among non-poor single parents, the average pre-tax income of women (\$40,044) was only about 76 percent of the average pre-tax income of men (\$52,706).

Among most poor family heads however, women's average incomes tended to be slightly higher than men's average incomes. For example, among poor unattached seniors, women's pre-tax income was \$96 more than men's. Likewise, among poor single parents, women's incomes were, on average, \$1,505 higher than men's. Differences may arise because the proportion of women who are poor tends to be higher than the proportion of men who are poor and there tends to be less income inequality between poor and non-poor women than between poor and non-poor men. For families, there may also be differences in the number of children in male and female-headed households and child benefits could increase family income.

Post-tax income measures reveal that even at very low incomes, people pay income tax, so that for all individuals and families, whether poor or non-poor, their average post-tax incomes are lower than their pre-tax incomes. The percentage change, however, varies. The post-tax income of poor senior couples was considerably reduced by 28 percent from \$18,185 to \$13,111. Poor couples without children and poor single-parent fathers also saw significant reductions of 14.9 percent and 13.3 percent from their pre-tax incomes. The reduction was lowest for unattached individuals at 5 percent for women and 5.8 percent for men. Among unattached persons under 65, the reduction ranged from 7.5 percent for men to 8.5 percent for women. Single-parent mothers also saw a modest reduction of 7 percent.

TABLE 4.1: AVERAGE INCOMES OF POOR AND NON-POOR CANADIANS, 1999

Family Type	Pre-Tax			Post-Tax		
	Income of Poor (\$)	Income of Non-Poor (\$)	Income of Poor as Percentage of Non-Poor (%)	Income of Poor (\$)	Income of Non-poor (\$)	Income of Poor as Percentage of Non-Poor (%)
Unattached Women Under 65	8,436	38,892	22%	7,717	37,128	21%
Unattached Men Under 65	8,722	41,934	21%	8,068	40,477	20%
Single-Parent Mothers Under 65	15,971	40,044	40%	14,754	36,601	40%
Single-Parent Fathers Under 65	14,466	52,706	27%	12,534	51,039	25%
Couples Under 65 without Children	12,232	68,012	18%	10,411	66,638	16%
Couples Under 65 with Children	22,892	78,564	29%	20,576	76,850	28%
Unattached Women 65 and Over	13,249	27,850	48%	12,590	23,306	54%
Unattached Men 65 and Over	13,153	32,922	40%	12,390	29,437	42%
Couples 65 and Over	18,185	45,724	40%	--	--	--

-- Sample size too small.

TABLE 4.1B: PRE-TAX INCOMES OF THE POOR COMPARED TO AVERAGE INCOMES, 1998 and 1999 (IN 1999 CONSTANT DOLLARS)

Family Type	1998			1999		
	Income of Poor (\$)	Income of Non-Poor (\$)	Income of Poor as Percentage of Non-Poor (%)	Income of Poor (\$)	Income of Non-poor (\$)	Income of Poor as Percentage of Non-Poor (%)
Unattached Women Under 65	8,466	36,490	23%	8,436	38,892	22%
Unattached Men Under 65	8,701	40,788	21%	8,722	41,934	21%
Single-Parent Mothers Under 65	15,384	41,484	37%	15,971	40,044	40%
Single-Parent Fathers Under 65	14,009	54,342	26%	14,466	52,706	27%
Couples Under 65 without Children	12,129	69,891	17%	12,232	68,012	18%
Couples Under 65 with Children	21,990	77,163	28%	22,892	78,564	29%
Unattached Women 65 and Over	13,384	27,485	49%	13,249	27,850	48%
Unattached Men 65 and Over	12,813	34,555	37%	13,153	32,922	40%
Couples 65 and Over	17,983	44,254	41%	18,185	45,724	40%

However, after taxes, the ratio of average incomes of poor persons as a proportion of the average incomes of non-poor persons did not change significantly for most of the family types. The ratio decreased slightly by a range of 1 to 2 percentage points for single persons, childless couples under 65, single-parent fathers and couples with children and remained unchanged for single-parent mothers.

Poor couples with children had the largest increase in average incomes between 1998 and 1999 at just over \$900 while the income of poor unattached senior women decreased by \$135. The largest change in the ratio of the income of the poor to the non-poor was for single-parent mothers. It went from 37 percent to 40 percent in 1999 but the change is largely due to a decrease in the income of non-poor single mothers. Unattached senior men had a similar pattern.

TRANSFER PAYMENTS

Obviously, many poor Canadians rely on government income support programs to help make ends meet. In some cases, the amounts provided by governments are surprisingly modest, and the amounts provided by earnings and non-government sources of income are substantial. In other cases, especially in the case of poor seniors, governments provide a very large portion of total income.

Table 4.2 shows the average amount of pre-tax and post-tax “transfer payments” received by poor families and unattached individuals in 1999. Transfer payments include Employment Insurance, Old Age Security, Canada and Quebec Pension Plans, Guaranteed Income Supplement, Spouse’s Allowance, Child Tax Benefit, other child credits or allowances, welfare from provincial and municipal programs, workers’ compensation benefits, GST/HST credits, provincial and territorial tax credits and any other government transfers. The Canada and Quebec Pension Plans and Employment Insurance are government-run programs, but the money comes from contributions by workers and employers, not from general government revenues.

As Table 4.2 demonstrates, couples without children, unattached individuals and couples with children who were living in poverty derived less than half of their pre-tax incomes from transfers. Government transfers accounted for about two-thirds to three-quarters of the pre-tax income of poor single parents while they provided close to 90 percent or more of total pre-tax income for poor seniors.

With the notable exception of senior couples, transfer payments accounted for an even larger share of the incomes of those who were poor according to post-tax measures.

TABLE 4.2: TRANSFER PAYMENTS TO THE POOR BY FAMILY TYPE, 1999

Family Type	Average Transfer Payment (\$)	Average Income from All Sources (\$)	Transfers as Percentage of Total Income (%)
Pre-Tax			
Unattached Women Under 65	3,682	8,436	43.6%
Unattached Men Under 65	3,564	8,722	40.9%
Single-Parent Mothers Under 65	10,752	15,971	67.3%
Single-Parent Fathers Under 65	10,585	14,466	73.2%
Couples Under 65 without Children	5,482	12,232	44.8%
Couples Under 65 with Children	10,177	22,892	44.5%
Unattached Women 65 and Over	11,892	13,249	89.8%
Unattached Men 65 and Over	12,434	13,153	94.5%
Couples 65 and Over	16,466	18,185	90.5%
Post-Tax			
Unattached Women Under 65	3,693	7,717	47.9%
Unattached Men Under 65	3,527	8,068	43.7%
Single-Parent Mothers Under 65	10,859	14,754	73.6%
Single-Parent Fathers Under 65	9,842	12,534	78.5%
Couples Under 65 without Children	5,223	10,411	50.2%
Couples Under 65 with Children	9,973	20,576	48.5%
Unattached Women 65 and Over	11,464	12,590	91.1%
Unattached Men 65 and Over	12,073	12,390	97.4%
Couples 65 and Over	--	--	--

-- Sample size too small.

SOURCES OF INCOME

SENIORS

A variety of transfer programs for seniors at all levels of government explains why poverty rates for seniors have plummeted over the years as shown in preceding discussions. Table 4.3 lists some of these government programs and other common sources of income for poor senior couples and poor unattached men and women 65 and older.

For each family type, information is provided for those who fall below the poverty line using pre-tax and post-tax measures. The table indicates the percentage of poor families or unattached individuals with income from a particular source and the average amount received per recipient. Poor people who did not receive a particular type of income were not included in calculating the average amount of that income source.

Almost all poor seniors received a sizeable portion of their total pre-tax incomes from the federal government's Old Age Security (OAS) pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement (GIS). The reason that less than 100 percent of seniors received income OAS or GIS is probably because some poor seniors were recent immigrants to Canada who did not meet the residence requirements. Moreover, there is evidence that not all seniors who are eligible for GIS, which is an income-tested benefit, have applied for a variety of reasons¹. The average amount of OAS and GIS for poor senior couples in 1999 was \$12,349 and the average for an unattached male senior was \$8,271. The maximum benefit available in the 1999 fiscal year was \$17,694 for couples and \$10,913 for individuals.

For unattached seniors, the second most important source of income was the Canada or Quebec Pension Plan. About 81.7 percent of poor unattached senior men and about 72.3 percent of poor unattached senior women received either CPP or QPP benefits. About 76.8 percent of poor senior couples also depended on CPP or QPP as a key source of income. The maximum benefit under the two plans in the 1999 fiscal year was \$9,020 and the maximum survivor benefit was \$5,412. Because benefits are tied to earnings, people with lower earnings in their working years get lower benefits at retirement.

Nearly half of poor senior couples and over 40 percent of poor unattached female seniors had some investment and savings income in 1999. Such investments accounted for 11 percent of the average income of both groups of seniors. In contrast, only 26.5 percent of poor senior men had investments and savings. Moreover, investments and savings constituted only 7 percent of the average total income of poor unattached male seniors.

¹ See Shillington, Richard, "The Dark Side of Targeting: Retirement Savings for Low-Income Canadians", *The Pension Papers*, C. D. Howe Institute (September 30, 1999) and, Longfield, Judi, M. P. Chair, *The Guaranteed Income Supplement: The Duty to Reach All*, report of the Standing Committee on Human Resources Development and the Status of Persons with Disabilities (December 2001).

TABLE 4.3: SOURCES OF INCOME FOR POOR SENIORS, 1999

Income Type	Poor Senior Couples		Poor Unattached Senior Men		Poor Unattached Senior Women	
	Percent Who Received (%)	Average Amount to Recipient (\$)	Percent Who Received (%)	Average Amount to Recipient (\$)	Percent Who Received (%)	Average Amount to Recipient (\$)
Pre-Tax						
Total of Poor in Category	44,000		101,000		417,000	
Old Age Pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement	89.5%	12,349	99.3%	8,271	98.5%	8,489
Canada and Quebec Pension Plans	76.8%	5,110	81.7%	4,133	72.3%	3,730
Investments and Savings	48.7%	2,035	26.4%	949	43.5%	1,430
Provincial Supplements	48.7%	419	74.0%	406	61.8%	401
Occupational Pension Plans and RRSPs *	--	--	23.8%	1,952	21.2%	3,064
Income from All Sources	100.0%	18,185	100.0%	13,153	100.0%	13,249
Post-Tax						
Total of Poor in Category	--		53,000		204,000	
Old Age Pension and Guaranteed Income Supplement	--	--	98.7%	8,578	97.5%	8,829
Canada and Quebec Pension Plans	--	--	73.7%	3,572	60.8%	3,180
Investments and Savings	--	--	--	--	37.6%	1,644
Provincial Supplements	--	--	80.0%	417	59.5%	384
Occupational Pension Plans and RRSPs *	--	--	--	--	14.5%	3,028
Income from All Sources	--	--	100.0%	12,390	100.0%	12,590

* Includes retirement pensions, superannuation, annuities, RRSP received and RRIF and RRSP withdrawals.

-- Sample size too small.

The category “provincial supplements” refers to the supplements for low-income seniors given by some provincial governments. It also includes some welfare benefits for seniors in provinces that do not have supplements. The amounts provided by these programs vary greatly from province to province, and the amounts received were modest on average. Nonetheless over 60 percent of senior unattached men and women received provincial supplements as a source of income. Less than 50 percent of poor senior couples had provincial supplements as a source of income.

Less than a quarter of poor seniors had income from occupational pension plans. Poor coverage has been a long-term problem of occupational and other private pension plans. Table 4.3 confirms how very few poor seniors draw on this source of income. For those with coverage, private pension income made a significant contribution to total income, accounting for almost one-quarter of the income of poor unattached senior women using pre-tax measures.

FAMILIES

A different picture emerges when we look at sources of income for poor people under 65. Earned income is often the major source of income, although welfare and employment insurance benefits are also important.

Although earnings were generally low, they were a key source of income in 1999 for all the family types listed in Table 4.4. Using pre-tax measures, more than 50 percent of couples with or without children and single-parent mothers received earnings.

This suggests that for poor families, labour force attachment was lacking in quality or quantity or both. The average pre-tax income of \$7,893 earned by poor single-parent mothers, for example, was equivalent to 32.9 weeks of work (40 hours a week) at a rate of \$6 an hour or 16.5 weeks of work at \$12 an hour. The average of \$13,787 earned by poor couples with children is equivalent to 57.5 weeks of work at \$6.00 an hour or 28.7 weeks of work at \$12.00 an hour. The average earnings of \$8,938 for childless couples is equivalent to 37.2 weeks of work at \$6.00 per hour.

For families with children, the Canada Child Tax Benefit (CCTB) was another significant source of income. As Table 4.4 indicates, virtually all of these families received the CCTB in 1999. In 1999, the maximum benefit was \$2,018 for one child for families with incomes under \$20,921. Families with two children received a maximum benefit of \$2,816. The rates were somewhat different in Quebec and Alberta at the request of the two provincial governments. Payments in Alberta varied with the age of the child while payments in Quebec varied with the age of the child and the number of children in the family. The average amounts received for the three family categories were similar and all over \$4,000.

TABLE 4.4: SOURCES OF INCOME OF POOR FAMILIES WITH HEADS UNDER 65, 1999

Income Type	Poor Single-Parent Mothers		Poor Couples without Children		Poor Couples with Children	
	Percent Who Received (%)	Average Amount to Recipient (\$)	Percent Who Received (%)	Average Amount to Recipient (\$)	Percent Who Received (%)	Average Amount to Recipient (\$)
Pre-Tax						
Total of Poor in Category	295,000		165,000		321,000	
Earnings	54.4%	7,893	58.3%	8,938	83.4%	13,787
Welfare	69.8%	7,632	29.3%	9,028	34.6%	10,127
Employment Insurance	10.6%	4,111	13.8%	4,009	22.6%	4,673
Investments	7.4%	781	34.4%	126	27.5%	1,423
Child Tax Benefit	99.9%	4,122	N/A	N/A	99.1%	4,276
Canada & Quebec Pension Plans	--	--	21.1%	6,401	--	--
Occupational Pension Plans *	--	--	--	--	--	--
Workers Compensation	--	--	--	--	5.8%	5,295
Income from All Sources	100.0%	15,971	100.0%	12,232	100.0%	22,892
Post-Tax						
Total of Poor in Category	236,000		117,000		224,000	
Earnings	46.8%	6,466	53.9%	7,126	78.6%	12,154
Welfare	73.4%	7,571	27.6%	8,382	37.1%	9,852
Employment Insurance	7.7%	4,114	10.2%	4,061	20.3%	4,086
Investments	6.6%	625	36.3%	579	27.5%	808
Child Tax Benefit	99.9%	4,168	N/A	N/A	98.2%	4,260
Canada & Quebec Pension Plans	--	--	22.9%	6,905	--	--
Occupational Pension Plans *	--	--	--	--	--	--
Workers Compensation	--	--	--	--	--	--
Income from All Sources	100.0%	14,754	100.0%	10,411	100.0%	20,576

*Includes retirement pensions, superannuation, annuities, RRSP received and RRIF and RRSP withdrawals.

-- Sample size too small.

N/A: Non applicable

For all family types with or without children, welfare benefits emerged as the most significant source of pre-tax income after earnings. At 69.8 percent, poor single-parent mothers were the most likely to depend on welfare payments. In contrast, only 34.6 percent of poor couples with children and 29.3 percent of poor couples without children reported welfare benefits in 1999.

Employment insurance was also a significant source of pre-tax income for families headed by persons under 65. Table 4.4 also shows that single-parent mothers are generally less likely than couples with or without children to receive employment insurance.

Canada and Quebec Pension Plan benefits were claimed by over one fifth of couples without children. The Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics does not specify the type of benefit, but the recipients could have been people who received survivor or disability benefits. Similarly, people who got money from occupational pension plans could have received retirement, survivor or disability pensions.

Income received from child or spousal support was not available for 1998 or for 1999. Data for 1997 showed that support payments were an important source of income for poor single-parent mothers. Seventeen percent of these families received support payments in 1997, and the average amount received was \$4,167.

TABLE 4.5: SOURCES OF INCOME FOR POOR UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65, 1999

Income Type	Poor Unattached Women		Poor Unattached Men	
	Percent Who Received (%)	Average Amount to Recipient (\$)	Percent Who Received (%)	Average Amount to Recipient (\$)
Pre-Tax				
Total of Poor in Category	548,000		600,000	
Earnings	53.0%	7,596	61.4%	7,792
Welfare	34.8%	6,289	35.8%	5,822
Employment Insurance	8.2%	2,924	11.0%	3,770
Investments	17.6%	1,245	14.1%	1,089
Child Tax Benefit	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Canada & Quebec Pension Plans	14.0%	5,087	10.6%	5,321
Occupational Pension Plans *	4.3%	4,453	--	--
Workers Compensation	--	--	2.6%	3,096
Income from All Sources	99.9%	8,436	99.8%	8,722
Post-Tax				
Total of Poor in Category	490,000		534,000	
Earnings	50.0%	6,586	58.7%	7,014
Welfare	36.4%	6,329	37.3%	5,701
Employment Insurance	7.7%	2,918	10.1%	3,709
Investments	17.3%	1,210	15.2%	1,400
Child Tax Benefit	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Canada & Quebec Pension Plans	13.3%	4,962	11.3%	5,129
Occupational Pension Plans *	4.0%	4,621	--	--
Workers Compensation	--	--	--	--
Income from All Sources	99.9%	7,717	99.8%	8,068

* Includes retirement pensions, superannuation, annuities, RRSP received and RRIF and RRSP withdrawals.

-- Sample size too small.

N/A: Non applicable

UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65

There is an evident gender gap in the labour force participation of poor unattached men and women. About 61.4 percent of unattached men, relative to 53 percent of unattached women, reported earnings in 1999. There was also a gender earnings gap of \$196, in favour of men. About 2.8 percent more unattached men than unattached women are likely to receive employment insurance benefits. In contrast, 17.6 percent of unattached women compared to 14.1 percent of unattached men drew on their investments and savings in the past year.

Among unattached individuals under 65 years of age, women were slightly less likely than men to receive welfare. About 35.8 percent of poor unattached men under 65 compared to 34.8 percent of poor unattached women under 65 reported receiving welfare incomes in 1999. In contrast, employment insurance benefits were reported in 1999 by 11 percent of poor unattached men under 65 and by 8.2 percent of poor unattached women under 65.

Canada and Quebec Pension Plan benefits were claimed by 10.6 percent of poor unattached men under 65 and 14 percent of poor unattached women under 65, using pre-tax measures. As in the case of families, many recipients likely had disability pensions.

While the data in Tables 4.4 and 4.5 are enlightening, they do not give a clear picture of typical combinations of income.

The National Council of Welfare asked Statistics Canada to do special data runs based on different combinations of income: earnings alone, welfare alone, earnings and welfare together, and earnings and EI together. These are found in Table 4.6.

One of the striking features of the table is that families with welfare as their primary source of income had total average incomes several thousand dollars lower than poor families with earnings as their primary source of income. These poorest of the poor families with children were also the families most likely to have seen their federal child benefits clawed back in most provinces and territories. For single-parent mothers, for example, those who received welfare alone had pre-tax incomes from \$3,000 to almost \$6,000 less than those with other primary sources of income.

Families with both earnings and welfare as primary sources of income also have some of their federal child benefits clawed back. One of the stated purposes of the Canada Child Tax Benefit is to encourage people on welfare to take jobs in the paid labour force. However, a family that receives earnings from a paid job, but also receives welfare income can lose its Canada Child Tax Benefit supplement. To take away the supplement when the family has taken steps to enter or remain in the labour force is contrary to the stated intention of the program.

For poor single parent mothers, poor childless couples and poor unattached individuals under 65, families with earnings and EI as their primary sources of income in 1999 had the highest average incomes. Families with the lowest incomes were those with welfare only as their primary source of income, with the exception of couples without children. The poorest childless couples had earnings as their primary source of income.

TABLE 4.6: AVERAGE INCOME BY PRIMARY SOURCES OF INCOME BY FAMILY TYPE, 1999

Primary Source(s) of Income	Poor Unattached Individuals	Poor Single-Parent Mothers	Poor Single-Parent Fathers	Poor Couples without Children	Poor Couples with Children
Pre-Tax					
EARNINGS (No Welfare or EI)					
Total Average Income (\$)	9,484	17,379	14,954	12,364	23,588
Average Earnings (\$)	8,477	10,571	8,533	9,385	16,986
Child Benefits (\$)	N/A	4,149	4,269	N/A	4,378
EARNINGS AND EMPLOYMENT INSURANCE (No Welfare)					
Total Average Income (\$)	11,027	20,088	--	15,429	23,892
Average Earnings (\$)	6,967	9,885	--	10,198	13,157
Average EI (\$)	3,415	3,826	--	3,106	4,874
Child Benefits (\$)	N/A	4,724	--	N/A	3,804
EARNINGS AND WELFARE (No EI)					
Total Average Income (\$)	9,501	17,666	--	12,527	24,578
Average Earnings (\$)	4,380	5,289	--	4,801	7,733
Average Welfare (\$)	4,362	6,446	--	5,872	9,730
Child Benefits (\$)	N/A	4,052	--	N/A	4,325
WELFARE (No Earnings or EI)					
Total Average Income (\$)	8,218	14,098	15,755	13,513	19,988
Average Welfare (\$)	6,955	8,792	10,376	10,939	13,129
Child Benefits (\$)	N/A	4,120	4,509	N/A	4,580
Post-Tax					
EARNINGS (No Welfare or EI)					
Total Average Income (\$)	8,616	15,569	14,131	11,354	21,033
Average Earnings (\$)	7,511	8,728	7,457	8,209	15,189
Child Benefits (\$)	N/A	4,188	4,478	N/A	4,248
EARNINGS AND EMPLOYMENT INSURANCE (No Welfare)					
Total Average Income (\$)	10,068	18,400	--	11,871	21,058
Average Earnings (\$)	6,226	6,977	--	6,037	11,596
Average EI (\$)	3,298	3,851	--	3,466	4,178
Child Benefits (\$)	N/A	5,007	--	N/A	3,611
EARNINGS AND WELFARE (No EI)					
Total Average Income (\$)	8,681	16,254	--	8,123	22,743
Average Earnings (\$)	3,660	4,397	--	127	5,970
Average Welfare (\$)	4,303	5,889	--	5,585	9,258
Child Benefits (\$)	N/A	4,109	--	N/A	4,603
WELFARE (No Earnings or EI)					
Total Average Income (\$)	8,025	13,848	13,936	12,289	19,315
Average Welfare (\$)	6,839	8,600	8,483	9,853	12,618
Child Benefits (\$)	N/A	4,150	4,602	N/A	4,601

-- Sample size too small.

EI: Employment Insurance

V. THE LOW-WAGE POOR

We saw in the previous chapter that the majority of heads of families living in poverty reported earnings in 1999. In this chapter, we refer to such family heads as “the low-wage poor” or “the working poor”. Such people are normally in the labour force. Some researchers reserve the term for poor people who have full-time jobs for virtually the entire year. Others include poor people who have strong ties to the labour market regardless of the number of weeks worked or the number of hours of work each week. In this chapter, we look at both categories of the working poor. All the information on the low-wage poor is for individuals and family heads under age 65.

In each of the sections that follow, we profile the working poor by family type in two ways. First, we provide the poverty rates for different family categories among the working poor using bar charts. Second, we show the distribution of poor families and unattached individuals using pie charts. Both pre- and post-tax figures are provided.

WORK ACTIVITY STATUS

Poverty rates vary considerably depending on the work activity of the major income earner. For this purpose, we have used Statistics Canada data for four categories: those employed full time; those employed part time; those with a permanent work limitation due to disability or poor health but who were not completely prevented from working; and those who were able to work but did not.¹ Full time means the person worked at least 49 weeks during the year and the normal work week was 30 hours or more. Part time means the person worked either less than 49 weeks or less than 30 hours a week or both.

Figure 5.1 shows the poverty rates for families and unattached individuals by the work activity status of the major income earner in 1999. It shows that poverty rates increase as the attachment of the major income earner to the labour force weakens and are very high for those with a permanent disability or other work limitation. At the same time, Figure 5.2 indicates that full-year and full-time work was far from a guarantee against being poor. While poverty rates for families with a full-time earner were relatively low in Figure 5.1, these families still made up about a quarter of Canada’s 828,000 poor families.

Figures 5.2 and 5.3 show how families and unattached individuals living in poverty are divided among those with a work limitation, those who did not have paid work, those who worked full-time and those who worked part-time.

¹ The 1999 data from the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics includes a small fifth category for “full-time/part-time status unknown”.

Figure 5.1: Poverty Rates by Work Activity of Major Income Earner, 1999

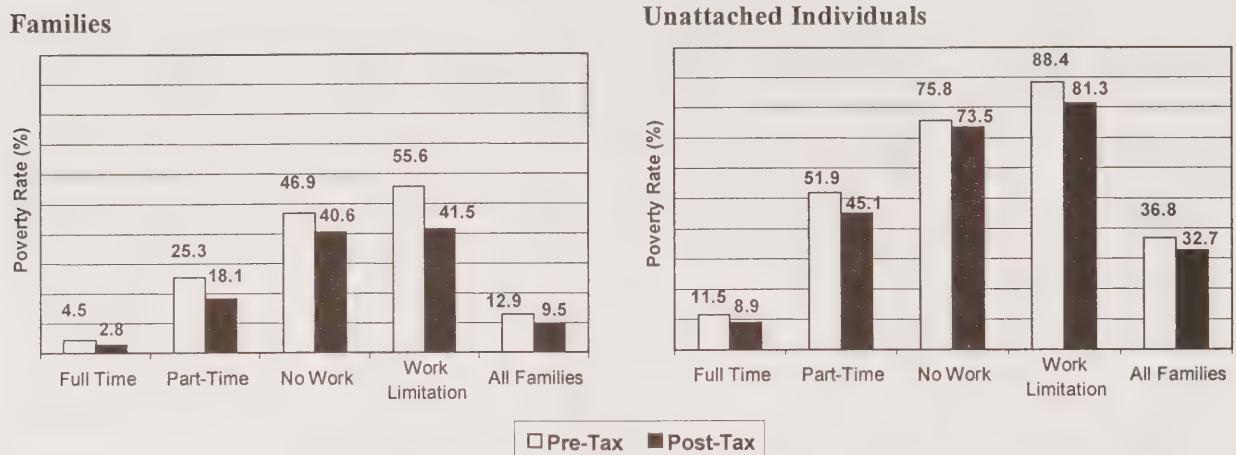


Figure 5.2: Distribution of Poor Families by Work Activity of Major Income Earner, 1999

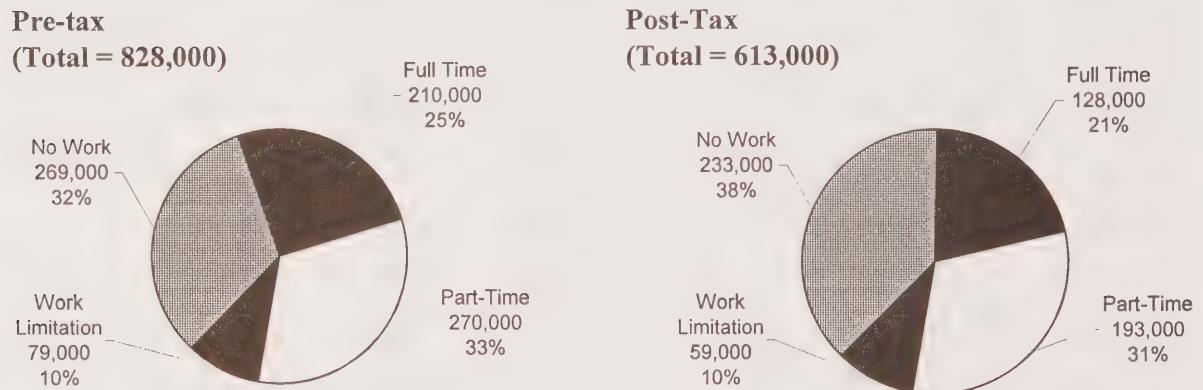
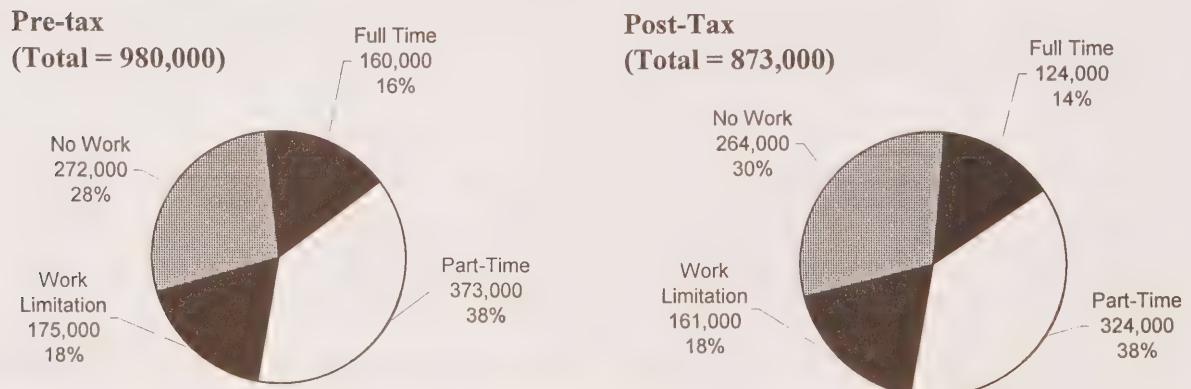


Figure 5.3: Distribution of Poor Unattached Individuals by Work Activity, 1999



For unattached individuals living in poverty, the patterns differed slightly but mostly because a higher proportion of them had low levels of labour force attachment. In 1999, of the 980,000 unattached individuals living under the pre-tax poverty line, just under a fifth worked full-time, almost two-fifths worked part-time, slightly more than a quarter had no work and nearly a fifth experienced work limitation.

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF MAJOR INCOME EARNER AND OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS

In this section, we investigate how different family types share differently in the risk of poverty, depending on the employment status of family members. For couples, we have broken down employment status into four categories: both major income earner and spouse are employed; major income earner is employed but the spouse is not employed; the spouse is employed but major income earner is not employed; and neither major income earner nor spouse is employed. For single parents, we define employment status as either employed or not employed.

Figure 5.4 confirms that the risk of poverty is lower for families where the major income earner is potentially able to share income generating with a spouse than it is for single parents. Keeping employment status constant, poverty rates were higher among single-parent families headed by women than among couples. The pre-tax poverty rate was 45 percent among single-parent mothers who were employed in 1999. This was about six times the poverty rate of couples with or without children.

Although poverty rates may be lower for households where both spouses were employed, these households accounted for more than 50 percent of poor couples. Single mothers who were employed had very high poverty rates and also constituted more than 60 percent of all poor single mothers.

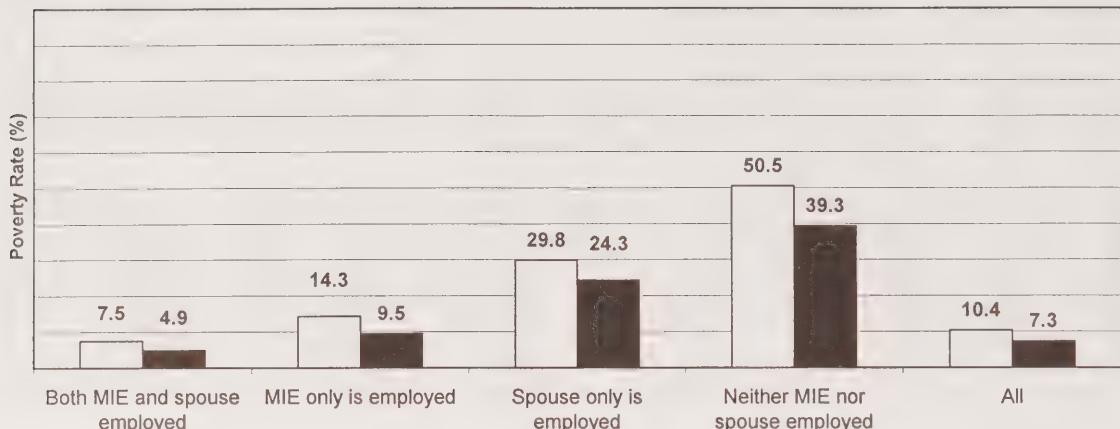
MAIN ACTIVITY OF MAJOR INCOME EARNER

Figures 5.6 and 5.7 offer additional confirmation that strong attachment to the labour force was a key determinant of poverty levels. Out of the 8.4 million families in Canada in 1999, only 7.2 percent of those households where the major income earner worked at either a job or a business lived below the pre-tax poverty line. In contrast, the poverty rate ranged from 36.4 percent among those who were looking for work to 65 percent among those who were caring for other family members.

At the same time, Figure 5.7 demonstrates that working at a job or a business is far from an adequate cushion against being poor. For example, more than 40 percent of all poor families were headed by persons who worked at either a job or a business. Families where the major income earner cared for other family members accounted for 10 percent of all families that lived below the pre-tax poverty line.

Figure 5.4: Poverty Rates by Employment Status of Family Members, 1999

Couples with Children



Couples without Children



Single Mothers

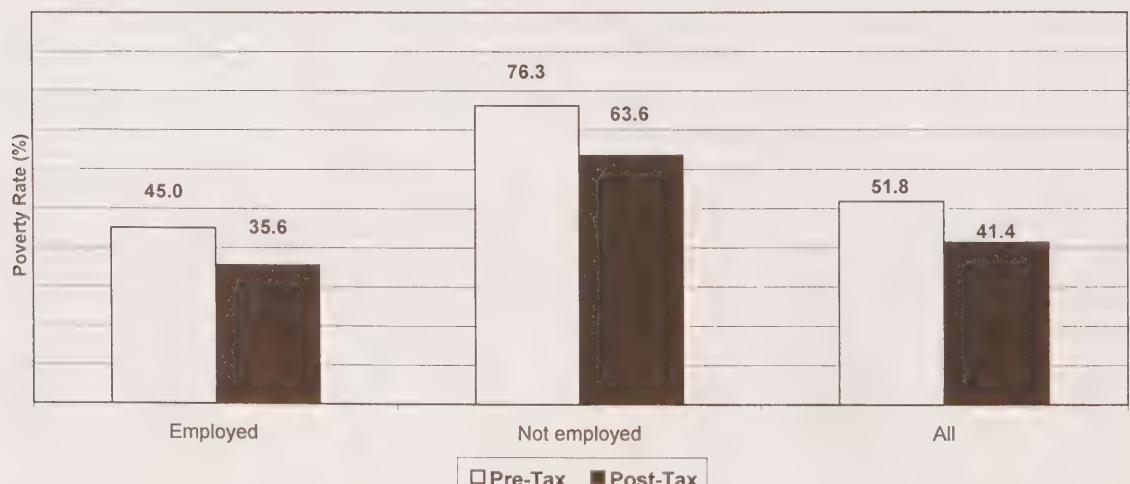
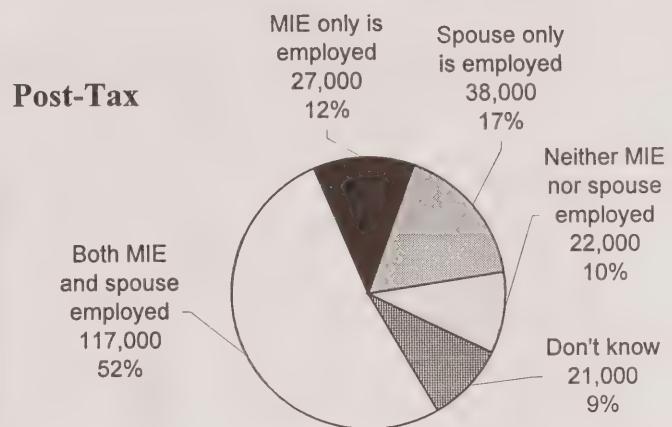
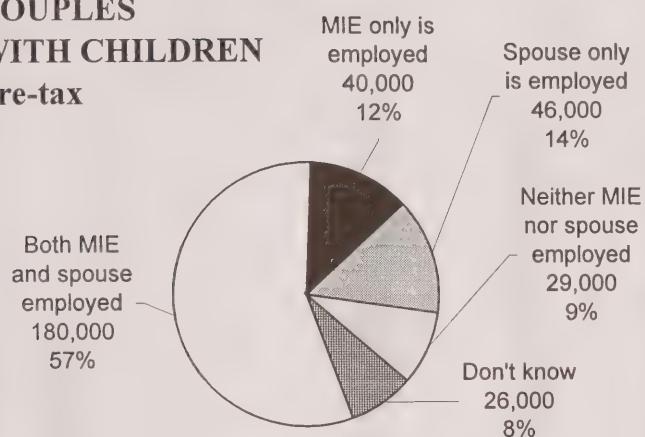
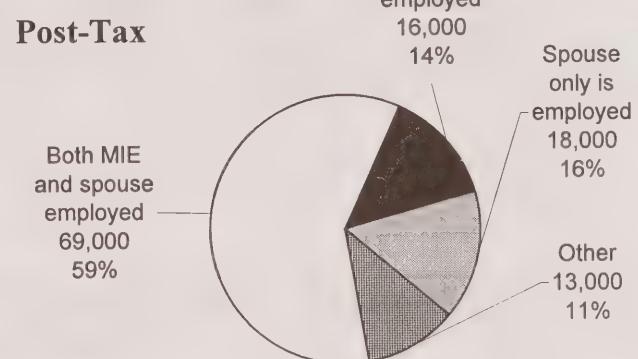
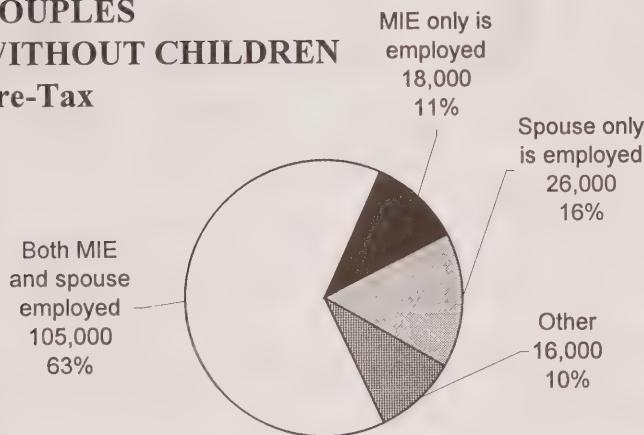


Figure 5.5: Distribution of Poor Families and Single Parents by Employment Status, 1999

**COUPLES
WITH CHILDREN**
Pre-tax



**COUPLES
WITHOUT CHILDREN**
Pre-Tax



SINGLE MOTHERS
Pre-Tax

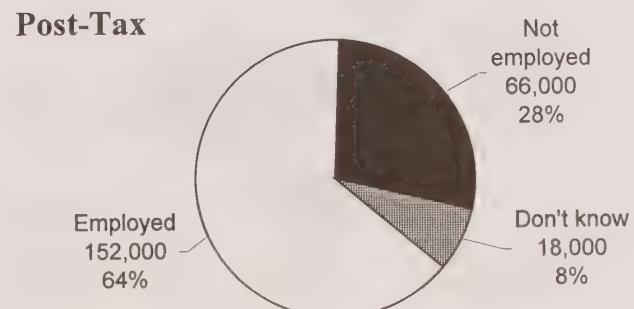
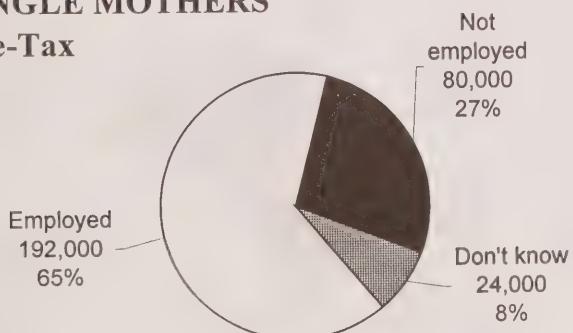


Figure 5.6: Poverty Rates by Main Economic Activity of Major Income Earner, All Ages, 1999

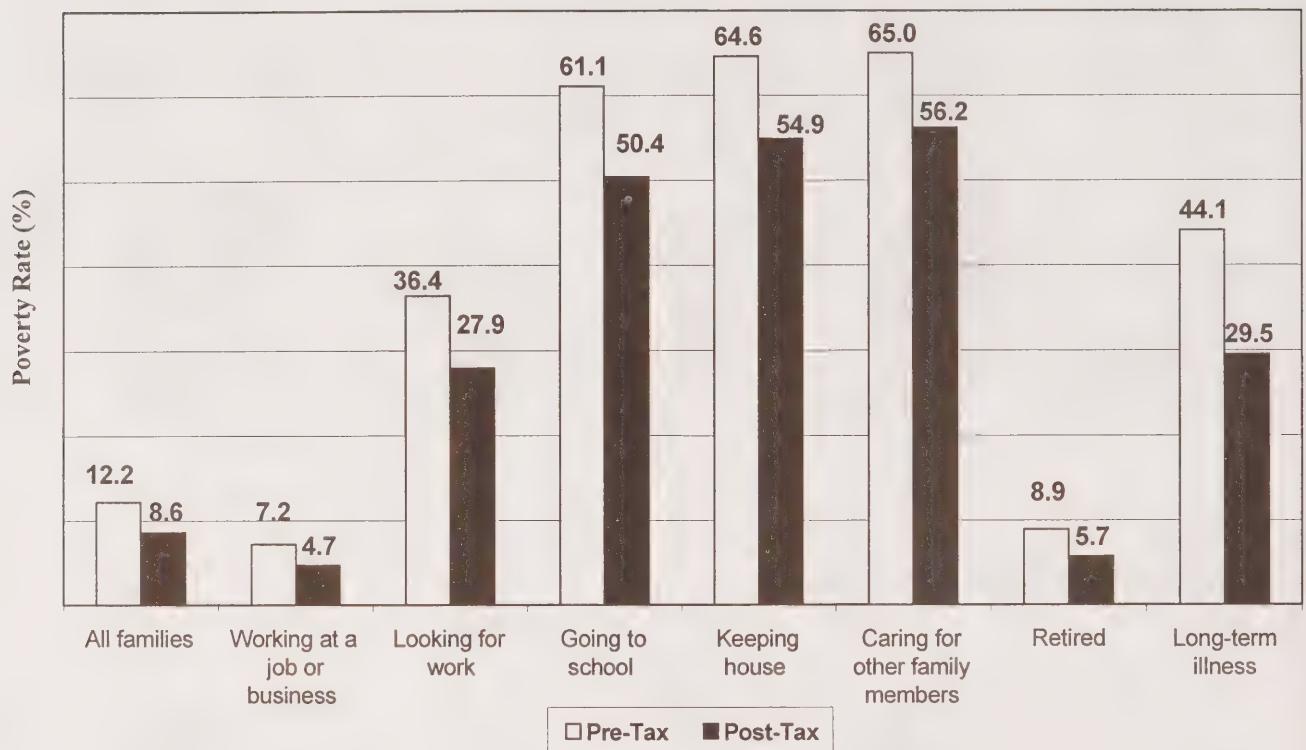
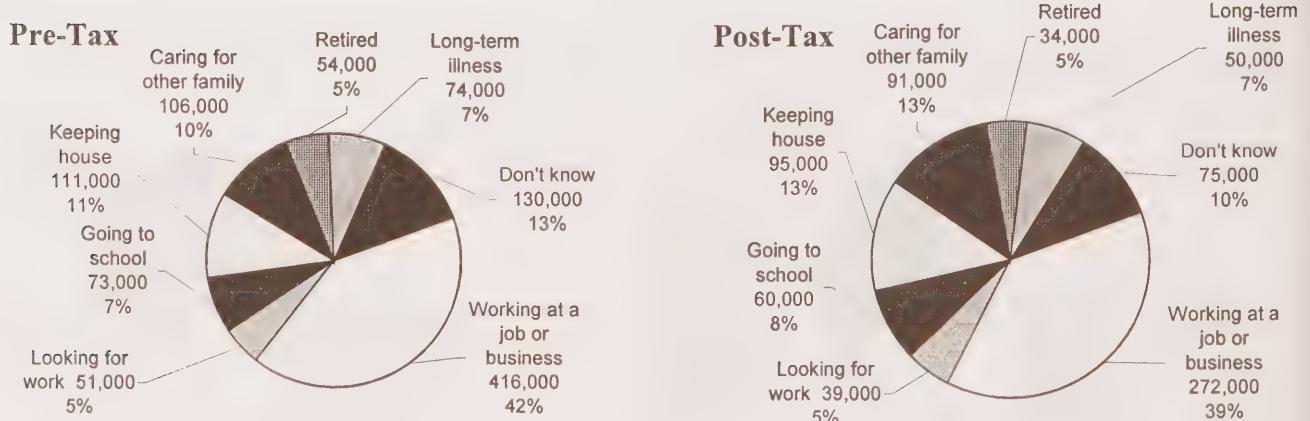


Figure 5.7: Distribution of Poor Families by Main Activity of Major Income Earner, 1999



INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT STATUS, 1999

Poor families and single persons who earn at least half of their total income from employment can also be defined as the “low-wage poor”. This definition puts aside the distinction between full-time and part-time work and focuses on poor people who spend a substantial part of the year in paid jobs.

Using this definition, Statistics Canada identified 545,000 poor unattached individuals and 387,000 family heads who made up the low-wage poor using pre-tax poverty lines, and 455,000 unattached individuals and 248,000 family heads using post-tax measures.

Table 5.8 gives the details for different family types. Earnings were the most important source of income for most of the various family types. Using pre-tax figures, 59 percent of poor unattached men, 53 percent of poor unattached women and poor couples without children, and 55 percent of couples with children were working poor. However, only 24 percent of poor single mothers derived at least half of their income from earnings. This finding confirms earlier results—due to parental responsibilities and not having an additional income earner, single parents are less likely to be able to support their families through employment and are more vulnerable to poverty as a result.

The lower part of Table 5.8 shows the average incomes of the low-wage poor and reflects the importance of earnings to the working poor. Although the figures were limited to people with earnings that amounted to at least half of their total income, the last row of the table shows that a much larger portion of total income typically came from earnings for most families living in poverty. Earnings as a percentage of total income ranged from 59 percent to 90 percent using pre-tax measures.

Average earnings for families were substantially higher, especially for couples with children, reflecting larger family size but also suggesting that family heads either received higher wage rates or there was a second earner in the family.

These findings clearly challenge the myth that poor families or unattached people rely excessively on welfare or employment insurance. For most of the families, the average amounts of income aside from earnings were small.

TABLE 5.8: DISTRIBUTION OF POOR FAMILIES AND UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65 WHO EARNED AT LEAST 50 PERCENT OF TOTAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME, 1999

	Unattached Men		Unattached Women		Couples without Children		Couples with Children		Single-Parent Mothers	
	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax
Number of Poor Family Heads or Unattached Individuals	517,000	458,000	456,000	404,000	146,000	104,000	305,000	212,000	278,000	222,000
Number with Earnings of 50 Percent or More of Total Income	304,000	256,000	241,000	199,000	78,000	49,000	169,000	107,000	66,000	41,000
Percentage with Earnings of 50 Percent or More of Total Income	59%	56%	53%	49%	53%	47%	55%	50%	24%	18%
Average Annual Earnings from Sources Other than Earnings	\$8,932	\$8,094	\$8,672	\$7,579	\$9,992	\$8,041	\$18,059	\$16,464	\$13,092	\$11,385
Average Total Income Earnings as a Percentage of Total Income	\$9,922	\$9,016	\$9,750	\$8,634	\$12,484	\$9,835	\$24,640	\$22,467	\$18,867	\$16,685
Earnings as a Percentage of Total Income	90%	90%	89%	88%	80%	82%	73%	73%	69%	68%

VI. DEPTH OF POVERTY AND THE POVERTY GAP

An essential aspect of poverty is its severity. Poverty rates show the proportions of population groups that are poor each year, they do not show the extent of their poverty. Measures of the “depth of poverty” tell us whether people are living in abject poverty or are just a few dollars below the poverty line. In essence, depth of poverty statistics allow us to calculate the “poverty gap”—to show how much additional income would be needed to bring all Canadians out of poverty.

Figure 6.1: Depth of Poverty by Family Type, 1999

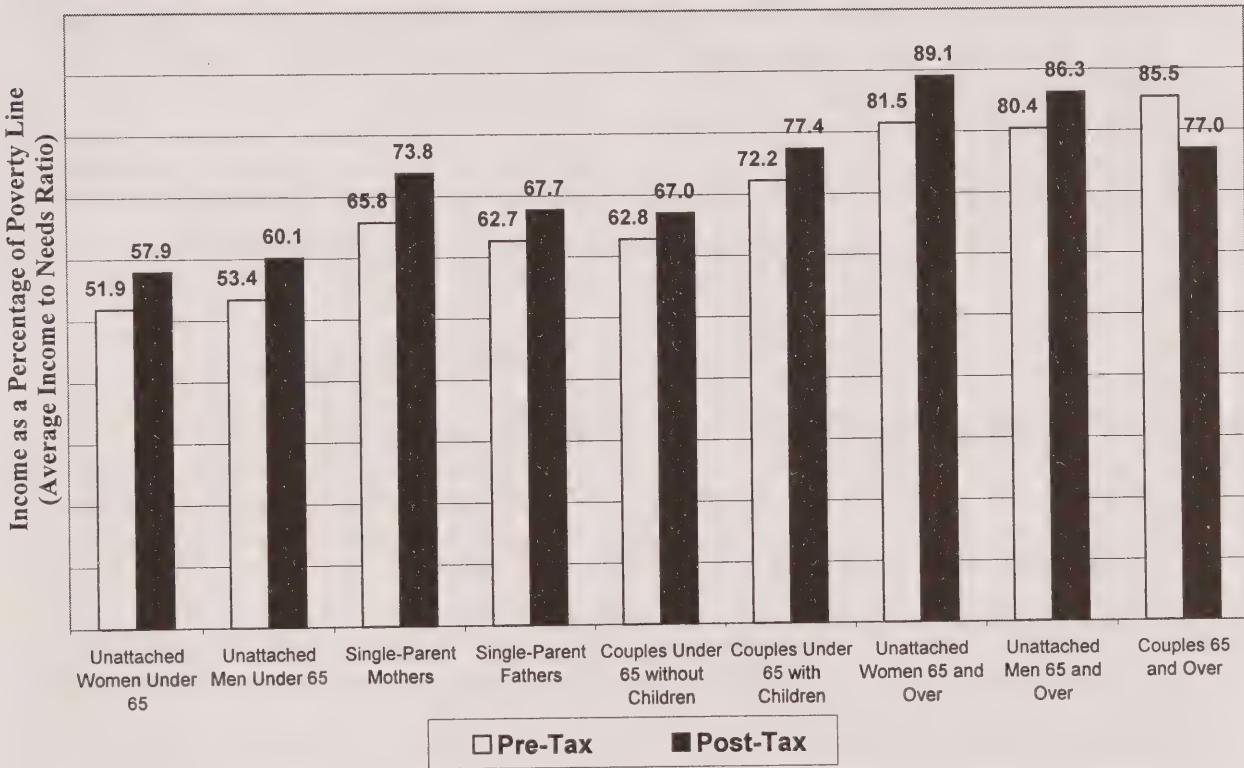


Figure 6.1 shows the average incomes of poor Canadians both before and after taxes as a percentage of the poverty line for the family types that were discussed in previous chapters.

With the exception of senior couples, whose post-tax sample size was too small, all family types were closer to the poverty line using post-tax measures than using pre-tax measures. However, the size of the tax effect varied. Unattached individuals under 65 were the poorest of the family types in 1999, with total pre-tax incomes that were only 51.9 percent of the poverty line on average for women and 53.4 percent on average for men. Unattached senior men and women had relatively high total income as a percentage of the pre-tax poverty line at

80.4 percent for men and 81.5 percent for women. Their income as a percentage of the post-tax poverty line was even better at 86.3 percent for men and 89.1 percent for women.

Depth of poverty can also be expressed in dollars as the difference between the poverty line and the average income of poor families or unattached individuals. Table 6.2 shows the average depth of poverty by family type for 1980, 1998 and 1999, with all figures in 1999 constant dollars to factor out the effects of inflation over the years.

Single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18 had the greatest depth of poverty in 1980 and 1998 in terms of dollars below the poverty line. Their situation improved marginally in 1999, but they remained \$8,459 on average below the before-tax poverty line and \$5,380 on average below the after-tax poverty line. In 1999, single-parent fathers and couples under 65 with children were deepest in poverty and the situation of single-parent fathers deteriorated between 1998 and 1999. Poor couples under 65 with children under 18 saw their situation deteriorate slightly between 1980 and 1998 with some improvement in 1999.

TABLE 6.2: AVERAGE DEPTH OF POVERTY, BY FAMILY TYPE, IN CONSTANT 1999 DOLLARS

Family Type	Dollars Below Poverty Line			
	in 1980		in 1999	
	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax
Unattached Women Under 65	\$8,024	\$7,811	\$7,944	\$5,715
Unattached Men Under 65	\$7,560	\$7,568	\$7,662	\$5,372
Single-Parent Mothers Under 65	\$9,915	\$9,107	\$8,459	\$5,380
Single-Parent Fathers Under 65	\$9,245	\$8,536	\$8,796	\$6,319
Couples Under 65 with Children	\$9,017	\$9,075	\$8,691	\$5,852
Couples Under 65 without Children	\$6,955	\$7,146	\$7,515	\$5,295
Unattached Women 65 and Over	\$4,551	\$2,962	\$3,116	\$1,580
Unattached Men 65 and Over	\$4,958	\$3,645	\$3,313	\$1,931
Couples 65 and Over	\$3,560	\$3,446	\$3,106	--

-- Sample size too small.

Unattached women and men under 65 came next. They had a lower ranking when depth of poverty was expressed as a percentage of the poverty line, but had a different ranking when the measure was dollars below the poverty line. The explanation for this apparent inconsistency is that the poverty lines are higher for families than they are for unattached people. A family of four living in a large city at half the 1999 after-tax poverty line of \$28,392 would have been \$14,196 below the line, while an unattached person at half the after-tax poverty line of \$14,771 would have been \$7,385 below the line.

The average poverty gap of unattached men 65 and older was \$3,645 in 1998 with a further reduction to \$3,313 in 1999, an improvement of \$1,645 since 1980. Poor unattached senior women saw a significant improvement between 1980 and 1998 with a deterioration between 1998 and 1999. They were \$4,551 below the poverty line in 1980, \$2,962 below in 1998 and back up to \$3,116 below in 1999. The average income gap for poor unattached seniors was even smaller after taxes were considered.

Senior couples have seen some gradual but marginal improvement in their depth of poverty measures between 1980 and 1999. In 1980 they were \$3,560 below the before-tax poverty line. In 1998, they were \$3,446 below the poverty line, an improvement of only \$114 in 18 years. In 1999, they moved to \$3,106 below the before-tax poverty line, a positive change of \$340 within one year.

CANADA'S TOTAL POVERTY GAP

Using the average depth of poverty in dollars for different family types and the number of families or unattached individuals in each group, it is possible to calculate Canada's total poverty gap. This gap is the amount of additional income that would be required to bring all Canadians above the poverty line in any given year.

As Table 6.3 shows, the pre-tax poverty gap in 1999 was over \$18 billion. Unattached women and men under 65 years of age jointly accounted for 47.9 percent of the gap. Family types with children—single-parent mothers, single-parent fathers and couples with children—jointly accounted for 28.9 percent of the gap. The ranking of these groups changes from year to year, but no other family type comes close to the size of their poverty gaps. Canada's total post-tax poverty gap for 1999 was almost \$10.2 billion.

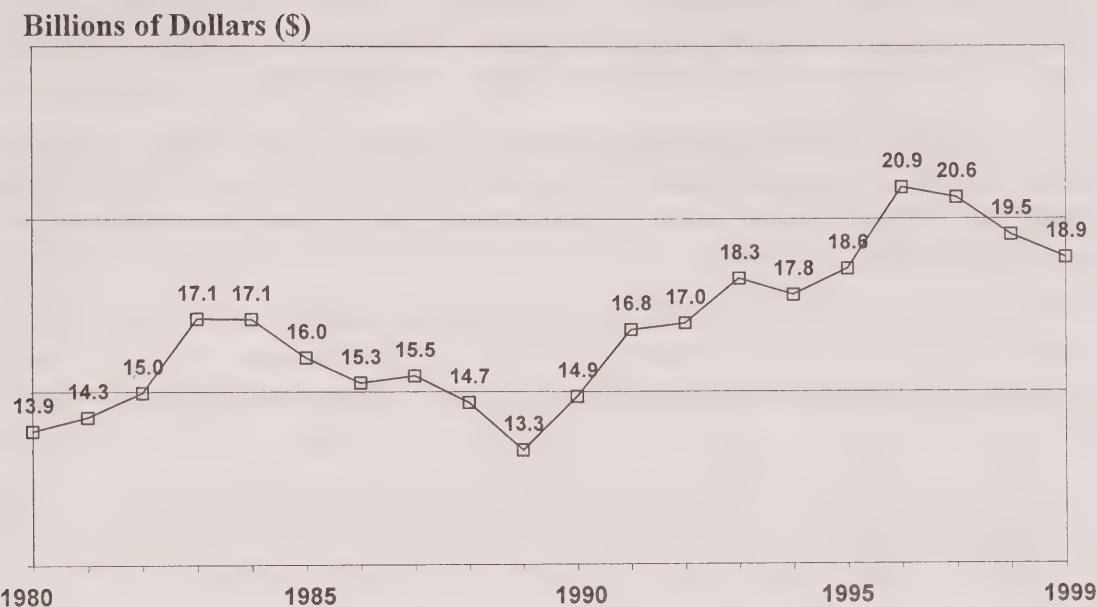
TABLE 6.3: TOTAL POVERTY GAP BY FAMILY TYPE, 1999

Family Type	Poverty Gap (\$)		Family Type's Contribution to Gap (%)	
	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax
Unattached Women Under 65	\$4,352,000,000	\$2,798,000,000	23.1%	27.5%
Unattached Men Under 65	\$4,597,000,000	\$2,867,000,000	24.4%	28.2%
Single-Parent Mothers Under 65	\$2,497,000,000	\$1,267,000,000	13.2%	12.5%
Single-Parent Fathers Under 65	\$170,000,000	\$92,000,000	0.9%	0.9%
Couples Under 65 with Children	\$2,793,000,000	\$1,313,000,000	14.8%	12.9%
Couples Under 65 without Children	\$1,240,000,000	\$620,000,000	6.6%	6.1%
Unattached Women 65 and Over	\$1,301,000,000	\$322,000,000	6.9%	3.2%
Unattached Men 65 and Over	\$336,000,000	\$102,000,000	1.8%	1.0%
Others	\$1,588,000,000	\$789,000,000	8.4%	7.8%
Total Poverty Gap	\$18,874,000,000	\$10,170,000,000	100.0%	100.0%

The post-tax sample size for couples 65 and over is too small to be expressed. Therefore, both pre-tax and post-tax values of this category have been added to the category of 'Others'.

Using pre-tax measures, Canada's poverty gap rose and fell in recent years in much the same way that poverty rates rose and fell as shown in Figure 6.4, using pre-tax measures. All the dollar figures have been expressed in constant 1999 dollars to show the trends with the effects of inflation removed. In 1980, the gap was \$13.9 billion. It then rose gradually to \$17.1 billion in both 1983 and 1984. The gap declined for five consecutive years until it reached a low of \$13.3 billion in 1989. It resumed its ascent again in 1990 in the wake of the 1991/92 recession. Although the economy grew in real per capita terms between 1993 and 1996, the living standards of low-income people actually worsened during this period as the total poverty gap continued an upward mount that peaked at \$20.9 billion in 1996. In 1997, after a sustained in a period of economic growth, the poverty gap began to narrow again, with 1999 representing a third year of consecutive decrease. However, the 1999 level still far surpasses the low of \$13.3 billion recorded in 1989.

**Figure 6.4: Canada's Total Poverty Gap,
in Constant 1999 Dollars**



INCOME DISTRIBUTION AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE POVERTY LINE BY FAMILY TYPE

Another useful way of looking at depth of poverty is to group families and unattached individuals into income categories as percentages of the poverty lines.

UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS

Figures 6.5 and 6.6 present the pre-tax and post-tax income distributions for unattached women and men in 1999. Figures 6.11 and 6.12 contain the pie charts of the distribution of income as a percentage of the poverty line for unattached women and men 65 and over. The charts show that both before and after taxes, more men than women earned incomes greater than 125 percent of the poverty line. In contrast, women were over-represented among people whose incomes as a proportion of the poverty line are less than 50 percent.

The charts show that in 1999, the poorest of the poor were unattached women and men under 65. There were 254,000 men (14 percent of all unattached men under 65) and 253,000 women (20 percent of all unattached women under 65) whose incomes were less than 50 percent of the poverty line. In order to escape from poverty, both groups would have needed more than double their incomes. Less disadvantaged but still in the ranks of the very poor

were the 204,000 men (11 percent) and 173,000 women (13 percent) whose incomes were between 50 and 75 percent of the poverty line.

Men, at 59 percent, out-ranked women at 50 percent, in terms of the proportion that had incomes greater than 125 percent of the poverty line. Using post-tax measures, the proportion of both women and men under 65 earning more than 125 percent of the poverty line was larger and the proportion earning less than 75 percent was smaller.

In contrast to the distributions for persons under 65 years of age, very few seniors, especially men, had incomes under 100 percent of poverty line using either pre- or post-tax measures. Figures 6.11 and 6.12 show a significant proportion of seniors fell within 100 to 125 percent of the poverty line.

Using post-tax measures, the incomes of seniors as a percentage of the poverty line were noticeably higher, with an observable gender gap. About 69 percent of unattached senior men and only 51 percent of senior women had post-tax incomes greater than 125 percent of the poverty line.

Just to get an idea of the impact of modest increases or decreases in income for unattached individuals of all ages, the National Council of Welfare recalculated the 1999 poverty statistics according to hypothetical best-case and worst-case scenarios.

In the best-case scenario, we assumed that all poor unattached individuals with incomes between 75 and 100 percent of the poverty line got enough additional income in 1999 to put them over the poverty line. Using pre-tax rates, the number of poor unattached individuals would have dropped from 1,667,000 to 1,314,000 under this scenario, and the poverty rate would have fallen from 39 percent to 24 percent.

In the worst-case scenario, we assumed that all “near poor” unattached persons with incomes of 100 to 125 percent of the poverty line lost enough income in 1999 to fall into poverty. The number of poor unattached individuals would have risen from 1,667,000 to 2,125,000 under this scenario, and the poverty rate would have shot up from 39 percent to 51 percent. In the best-case post-tax scenario, the poverty rate would have fallen from 28 percent to 17 percent and in the worst case, would have risen to 40 percent.

FAMILIES

Figures 6.7 to 6.10 and 6.13 present the same kind of income distributions for families. Whether one looks at pre-tax or at post-tax figures, the differences between single-earner families and dual-earner families and the impact of gender are striking.

The vast majority of two-parent families with children (82 percent) had incomes of more than 125 percent of the poverty line. In sharp contrast, only 36 percent of families headed by single-parent mothers had incomes greater than 125 percent of the poverty line and over a

third of single-parent mothers had very low incomes at 75 percent of the poverty line or worse.

Using post-tax measures, the proportions of families with children with incomes greater than 125 percent of the poverty line was higher for all the three groups. However, more than 80 percent of couples with children, compared to only 48 percent of single-parent mothers, had incomes greater than 125 percent of the poverty line.

Couples under 65 without children fared better than families with children in terms of income as a percentage of the pre-tax poverty line. About 88 percent of couples under 65 without children had incomes in excess of 125 percent of the pre-tax poverty line compared to 83 percent for couples with children. Using post-tax measures, over 90 percent of senior and non-senior couples without children had incomes of more than 125 percent of the poverty line.

Under a hypothetical best-case scenario, all the families at 75 to 100 percent of the pre-tax poverty line would get additional income and move out of poverty. The number of poor families would drop from 1,025,000 to 562,000 in 1999 and the pre-tax poverty rate for families would fall from 12 percent to 7 percent. Under a worst-case scenario, the families at 100 to 125 percent of the poverty line would fall into poverty. The number of poor families would rise from 1,025,000 to 1,636,000, and the poverty rate would go up from 12 percent to 20 percent. In the best case post-tax scenario, the poverty rate would drop from about 8 percent to 4 percent and in the worst case scenario, would rise to 14 percent.

Figure 6.5: Income Distributions as Percentages of Poverty Line for Unattached Women Under 65, 1999

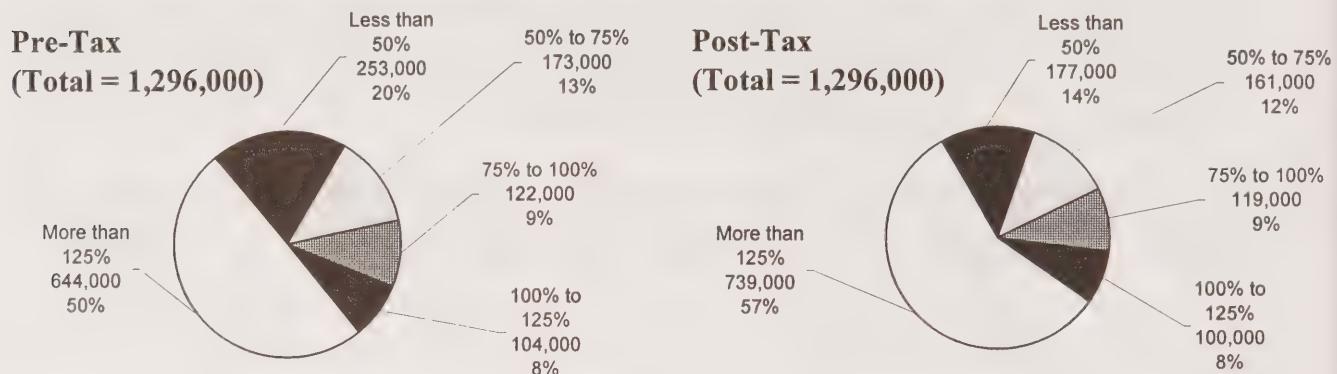


Figure 6.6: Income Distributions as Percentages of Poverty Line for Unattached Men Under 65, 1999

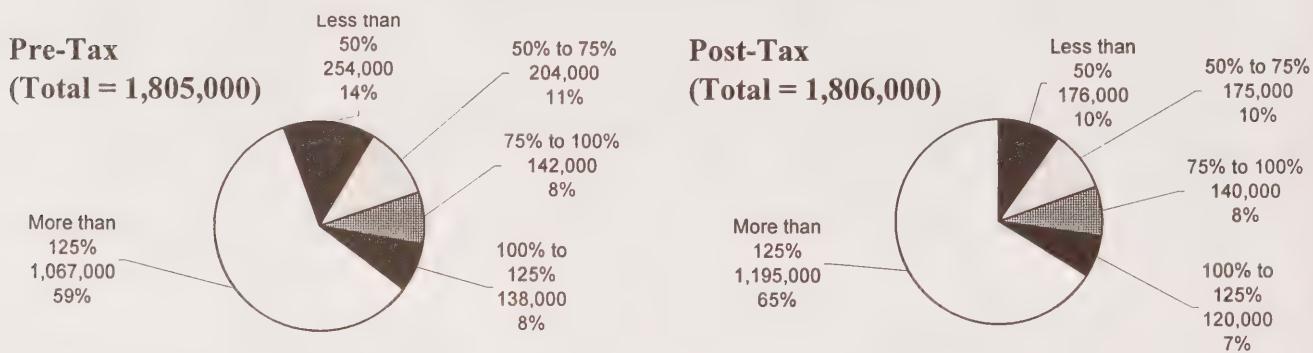


Figure 6.7: Income Distributions as Percentages of Poverty Line for Single-Parent Mothers, 1999

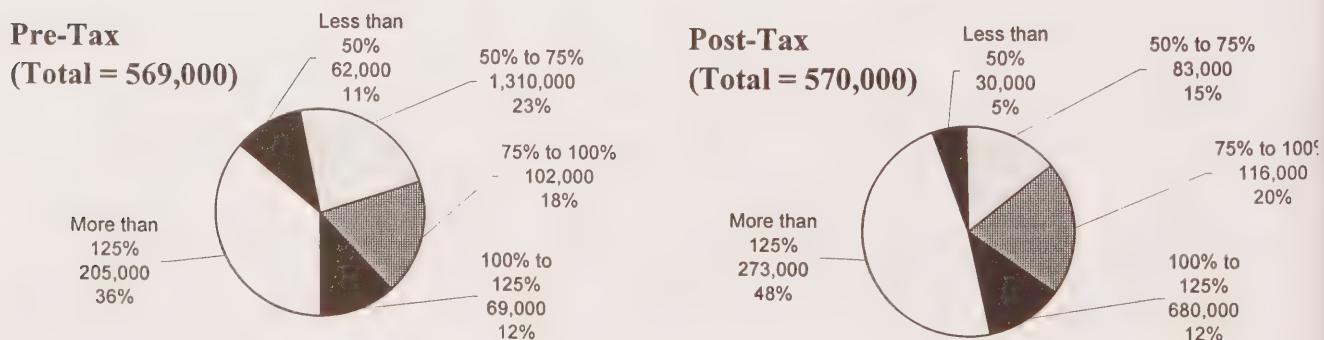


Figure 6.8: Income Distributions as Percentages of Poverty Line for Single-Parent Fathers, 1999

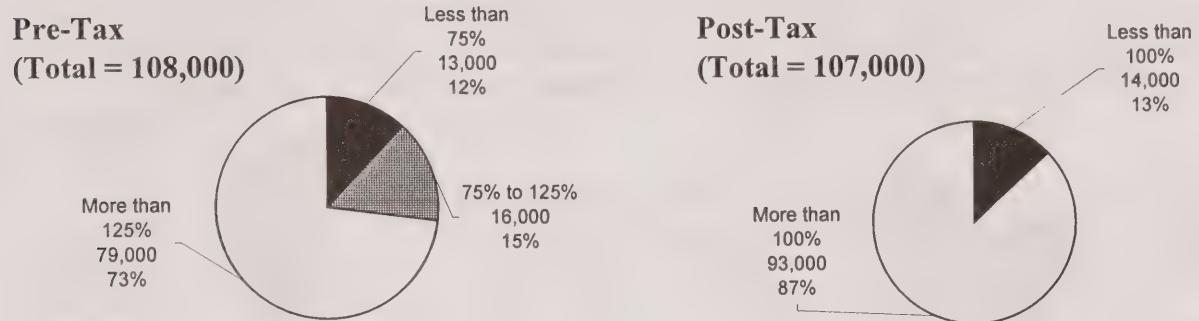


Figure 6.9: Income Distributions as Percentages of Poverty Line for Couples Under 65 without Children, 1999

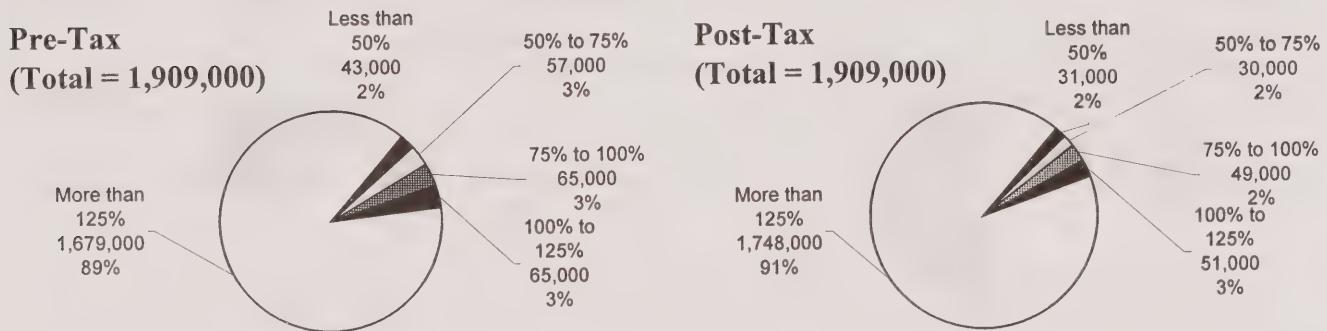


Figure 6.10: Income Distributions as Percentages of Poverty Line for Couples Under 65 with Children, 1999

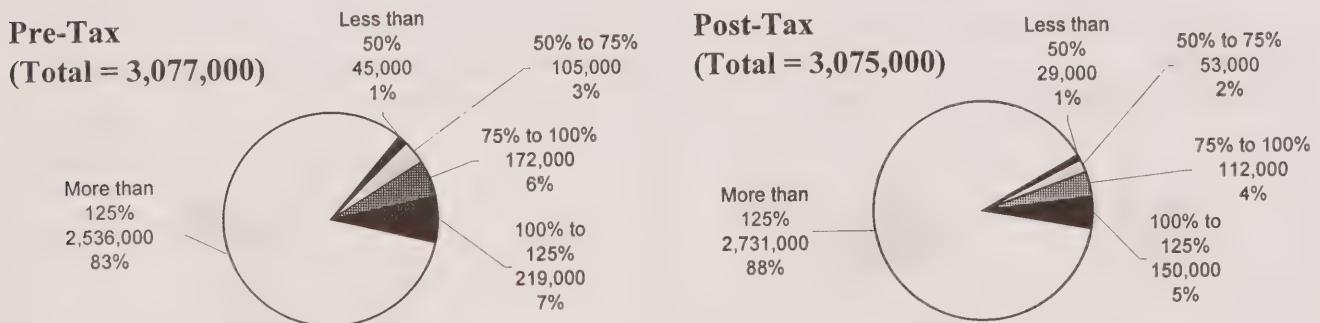


Figure 6.11: Income Distributions as Percentages of Poverty Line for Unattached Women 65 and Over, 1999

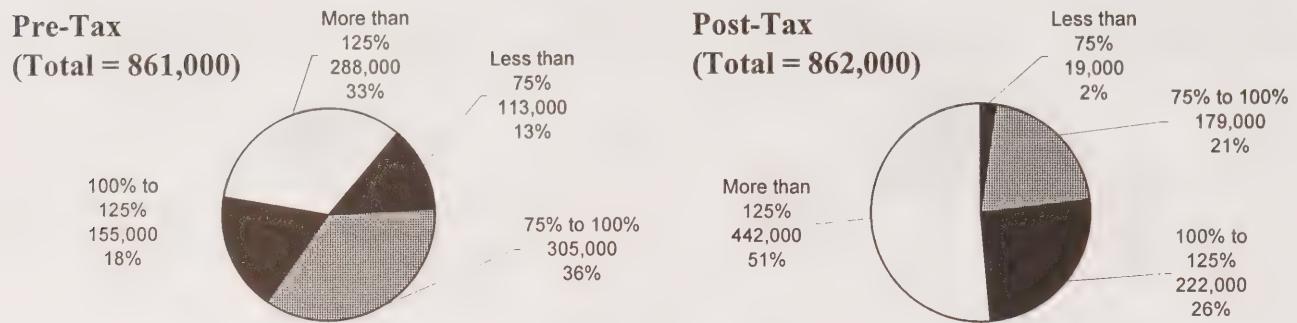


Figure 6.12: Income Distributions as Percentages of Poverty Line for Unattached Men 65 and Over, 1999

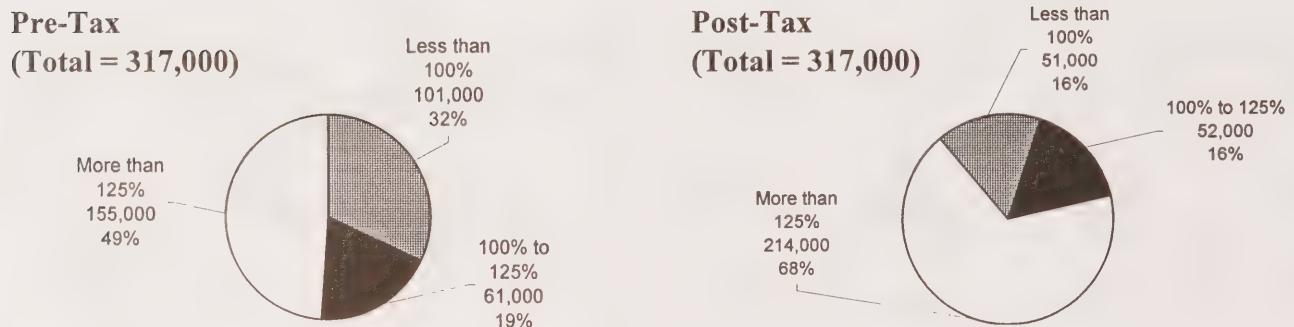
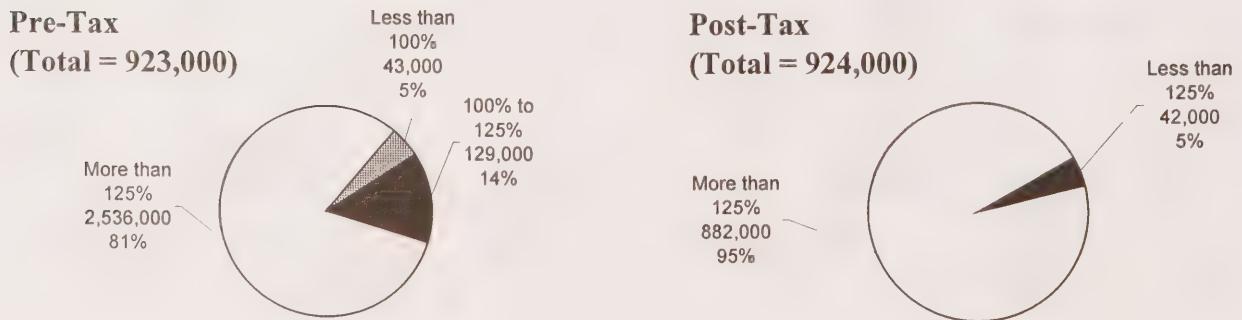


Figure 6.13: Income Distributions as Percentages of Poverty Line for Couples 65 and Over, 1999



PEOPLE LIVING AT LESS THAN HALF OF THE POVERTY LINE

The National Council of Welfare has long been alarmed about the number of people who were living at less than half the poverty line and we were dismayed to see the numbers go up in the years following the 1990-1991 recession despite the continuing overall improvements in the economy. Figures 6.14 to 6.17 highlight the patterns of abject poverty from 1989 through 1999 using pre-tax poverty lines.

There were some notable improvements between 1998 and 1999 particularly among families with children. The number of single-parent mothers living below 50 percent of the poverty line decreased from 79,000 in 1998 to 62,000 in 1999. The Council was also pleased to observe that the number of couples under 65 with children declined to a record low of 45,000—the lowest number since 1989 when 46,000 couples with children lived at less than 50 percent of the poverty line. Similarly, the Council is encouraged that the number of poor unattached individuals under 65 living in abject poverty dropped from 520,000 persons in 1998 to 506,000 in 1999.

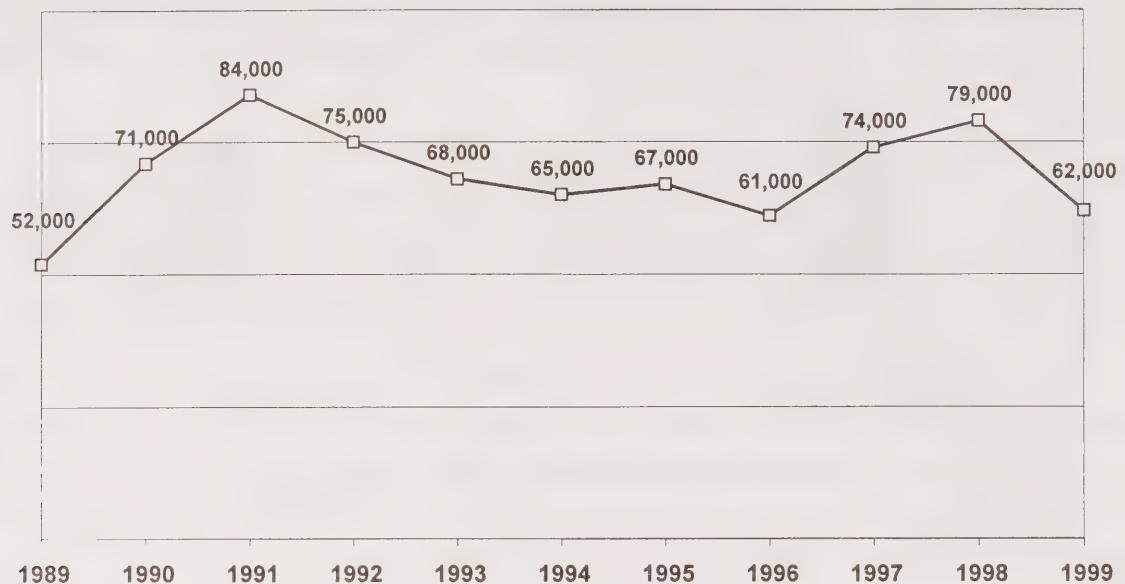
The 62,000 single-parent mothers living at less than 50 percent of the poverty line in 1999 represents the second lowest number recorded since 1989. But there were still 10,000 more families living in extreme poverty in 1999 than a decade earlier.

The number of unattached individuals with incomes less than 50 percent of the poverty line also presents a bleak picture. There was a small decrease since 1998, but the number of extremely poor unattached people in 1999 was still very high at 506,000. This is over 150 percent of the 1990 low of 307,000. In 1999, there were still about 200,000 more unattached persons below 50 percent of the poverty line than at the start of the decade.

In the case of couples without children, the number went up by 9,000 from 34,000 in 1998 to 43,000 in 1999. In contrast, for couples under 65 with children the number of poor families living under 50 percent of the poverty line went down from 56,000 in 1998 to 45,000 in 1999.

These figures provide the definitive rebuttal to people who believe that poverty is not a problem in Canada. People who live at less than half the poverty line are poor by any reasonable standard. It is tragic to think of so many people living in abject poverty, and it is appalling to see the figures remain at high levels as the economy continues to improve. The National Council of Welfare believes this is a problem of the highest magnitude that cries out for an immediate response from governments.

**Figure 6.14: Number of Single-Parent Mothers,
Under 50% of Poverty Line**



**Figure 6.15: Number of Unattached Individuals
Under 65, Under 50% of Poverty Line**

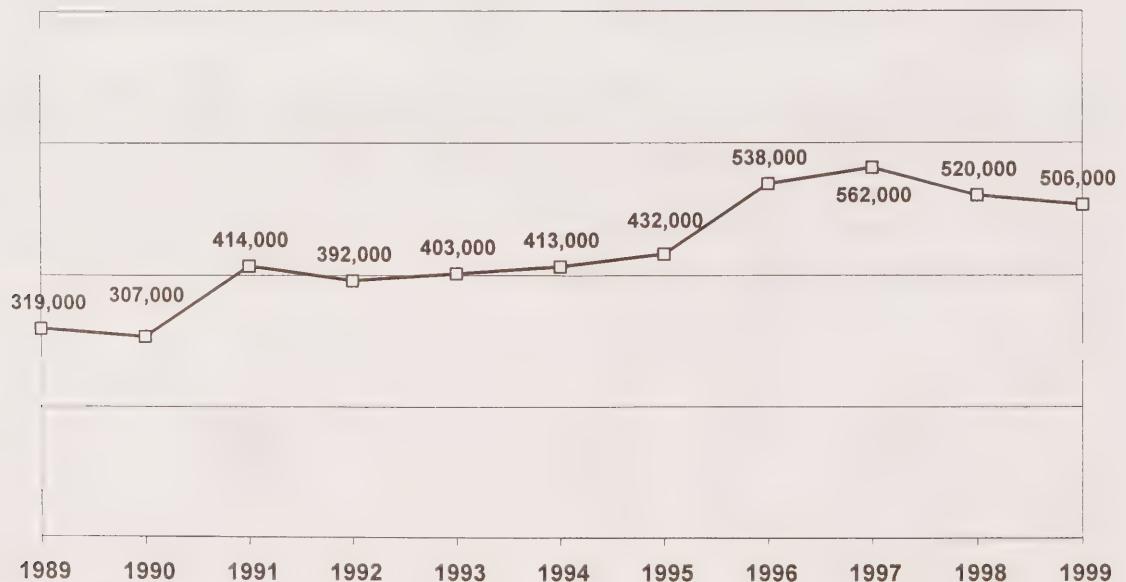


Figure 6.16: Number of Couples Under 65 without Children, Under 50% of Poverty Line

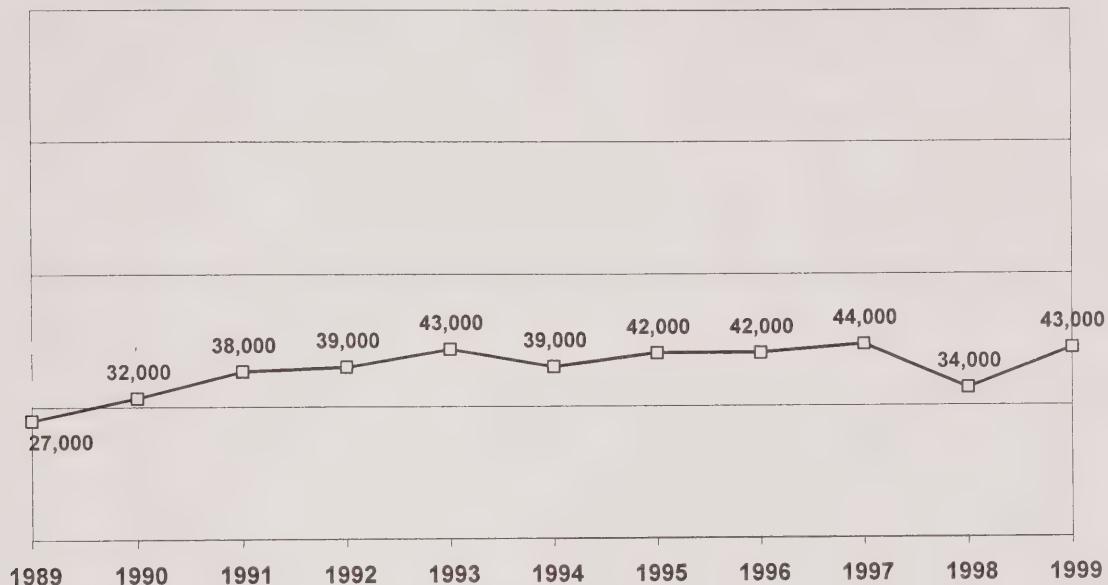
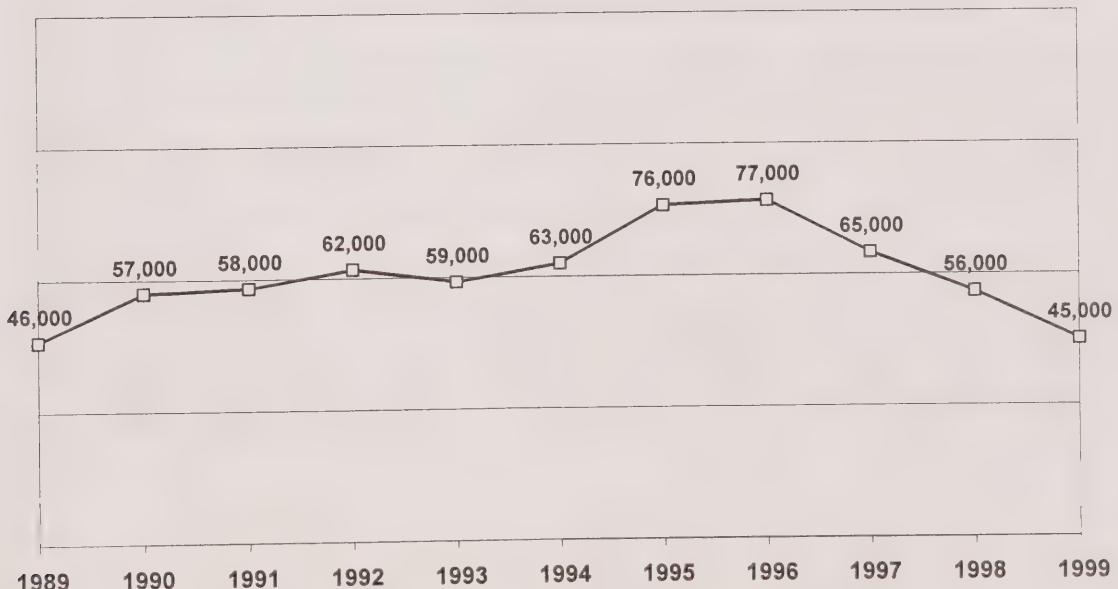


Figure 6.17: Number of Couples Under 65 with Children, Under 50% of Poverty Line



VII. DURATION OF POVERTY

In 1993, when Statistics Canada started a longitudinal study, the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID), it opened up a new way of understanding poverty. Rather than only measuring poverty rates on an annual basis, SLID follows the same set of people for six consecutive years and is designed to capture changes in the economic well-being of individuals and families over time. Data from SLID enable researchers to see how people's financial circumstances changed from year to year.

In this chapter, we examine data collected during the first six-year cycle of SLID which began in 1993 and ended in 1998, using pre-tax and post-tax measures. Long-term poverty rates are presented by family type, education, age, sex, immigration status, visible minority status and work limitation status in Canada. We also investigate the effect of changes in family status on poverty.

It is clear from the charts (and tables presented at the end of the Chapter) that over the long-term, poverty touches a greater number of families and individuals than yearly poverty rates suggest. More than seven million or 29.5 percent of all Canadians had experienced poverty in at least one of the six years between 1993 and 1998. Using the post-tax measure, the number is somewhat lower but at 24.2 percent is still almost one quarter of all Canadians¹.

Our analysis shows that the risk of being poor varies with age and sex, with the number of potential income earners, with the number of children, with visible minority, immigration or Aboriginal status and with work limitation status. Simply put, the risk of being poor is higher when the head of the family is single or unattached, is a woman, is a parent, lives with a disability, is a member of a visible minority, is an Aboriginal person or immigrated to Canada after 1979.

DURATION OF POVERTY BY FAMILY COMPOSITION

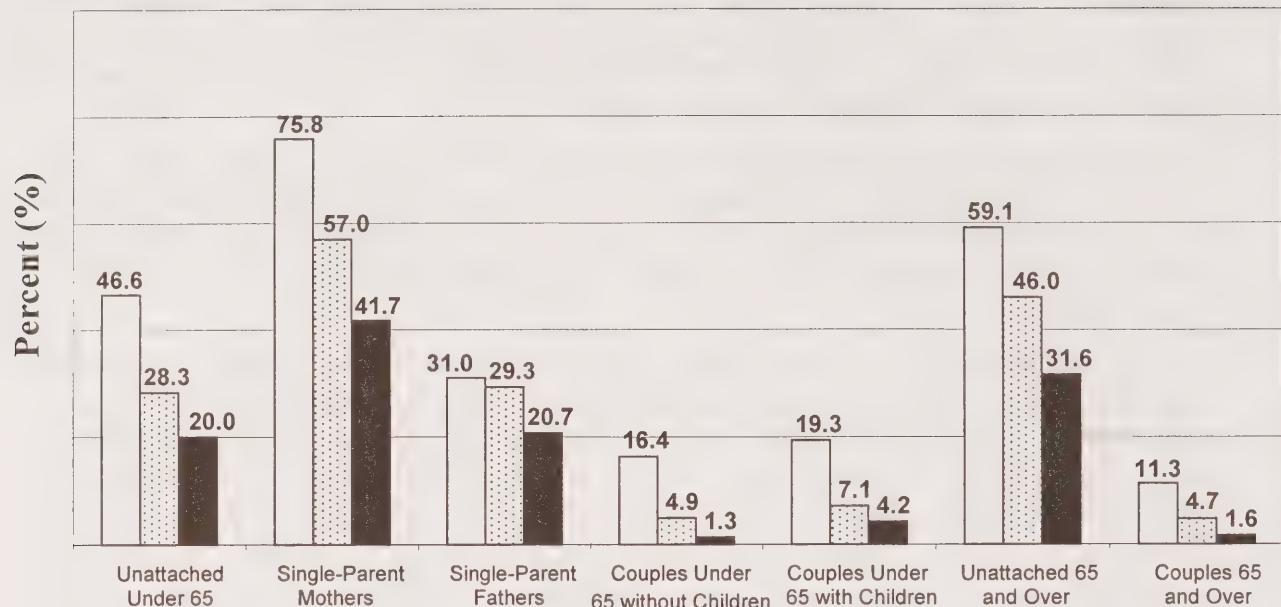
Female lone parents exemplify the generality that the risk of being poor increases with being single, with being a parent and with being a woman (Figure 7.1). Previous chapters have shown that families headed by single mothers under 65 years of age have the highest yearly poverty rate of all family types. In any given year between 1993 and 1998, no less than 52.9 percent of single mothers experienced poverty.

Over the long-term, single mothers remained those most likely to experience poverty. Before taxes, a staggering 75.8 percent of single-parent mothers lived in poverty for at least one of the six years, compared to 51.2 percent of unattached persons, 14.4 percent of couples without children and 19.3 percent of couples with children. Using post-tax income, the proportion of single mothers who lived below the poverty line for at least one year was 63.5 percent.

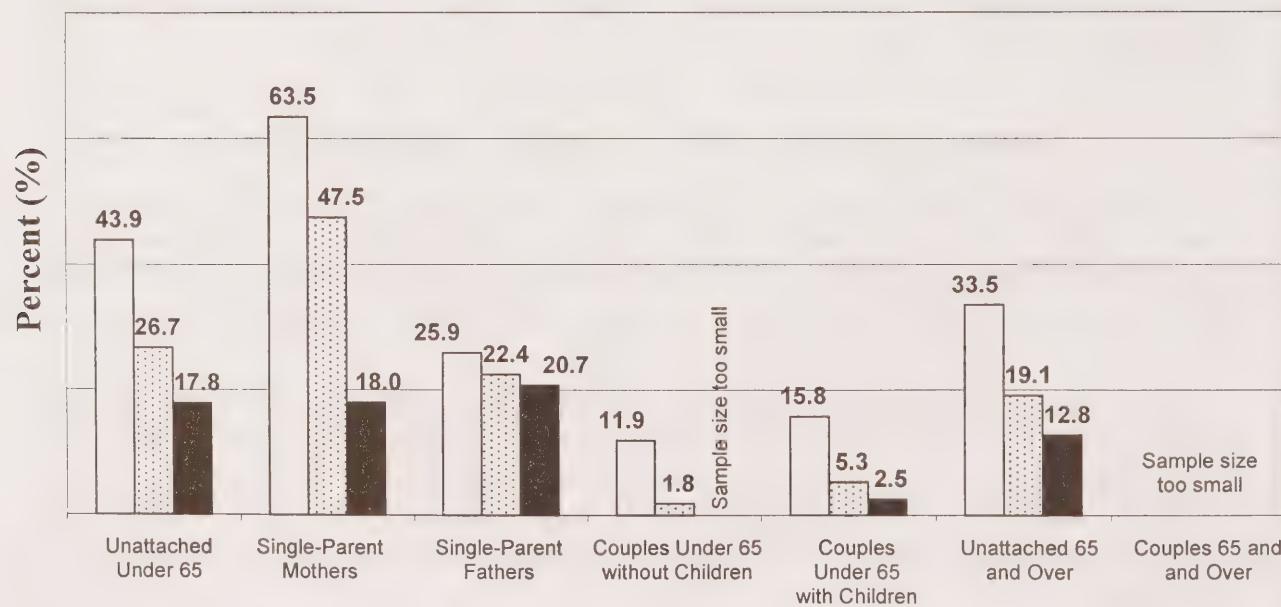
¹ See also Cotton, Cathy; Giles, Philip and Lathe, Heather, Statistics Canada: "1999 Income: An Overview", *Perspectives on Labour and Income* (Vol. 13, No. 4, Winter 2001).

Figure 7.1: Duration of Poverty by Family Types, 1993-1998

Pre-Tax



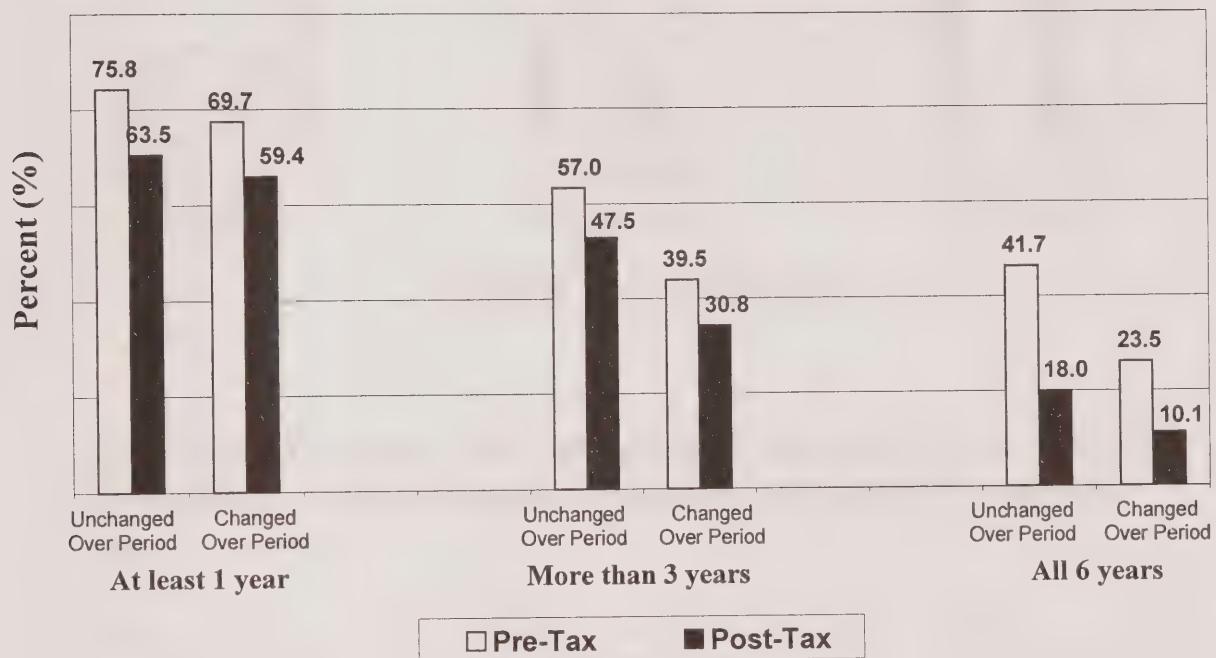
Post-Tax



□ At least 1 year ■ More than 3 years ■ All 6 years

Available transitional data indicate that being in a couple reduces the risk of poverty (Figures 7.2 to 7.7 and Table 7.14). Before taxes, 69.7 percent of women who were lone mothers in 1993, but whose marital status changed during the six-year period (for example, they became part of a couple), experienced poverty at least once between 1993 and 1998. This is 6.1 percent less than the 75.8 percent of poor lone mothers whose household status remained the same throughout the period.

Figure 7.2: Duration of Poverty for Single-Parent Mothers, by Change in Marital Status, 1993-1998



Long-term poverty rates decreased for unattached persons but increased for couples whose marital status changed during the period. Whereas the poverty rate was 51.2 percent for persons who remained consistently single throughout the survey, it was 49.9 percent for persons who started out as single but whose status later changed. In the reverse, poverty rates were higher for couples whose household composition changed during the survey cycle (there may have been a divorce or children may have come into or left the household) than for couples whose family composition remained the same.

Figure 7.3: Duration of Poverty for Couples Under 65 with Children, by Change in Marital Status, 1993-1998

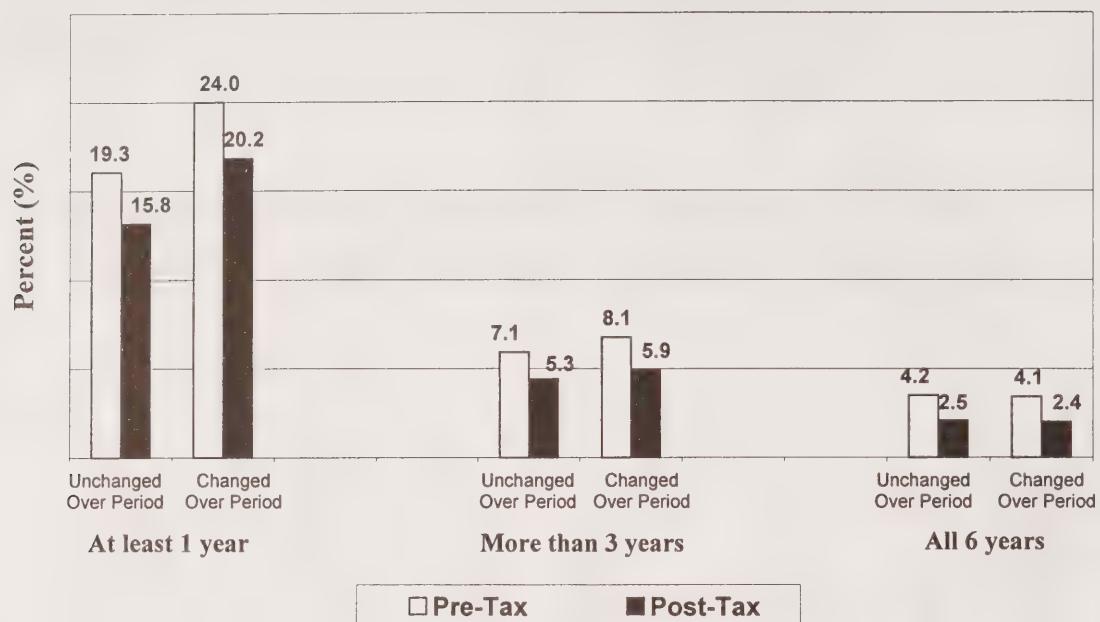


Figure 7.4: Duration of Poverty for Couples Under 65 without Children, by Change in Marital Status, 1993-1998

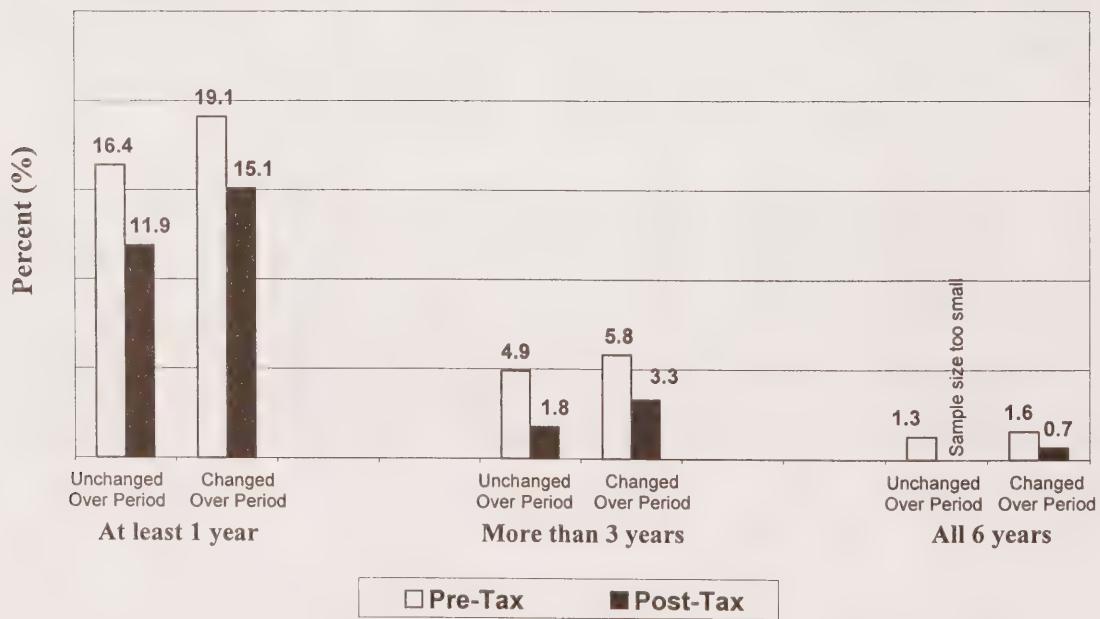


Figure 7.5: Duration of Poverty for Couples 65 and Over, by Change in Marital Status, 1993-1998

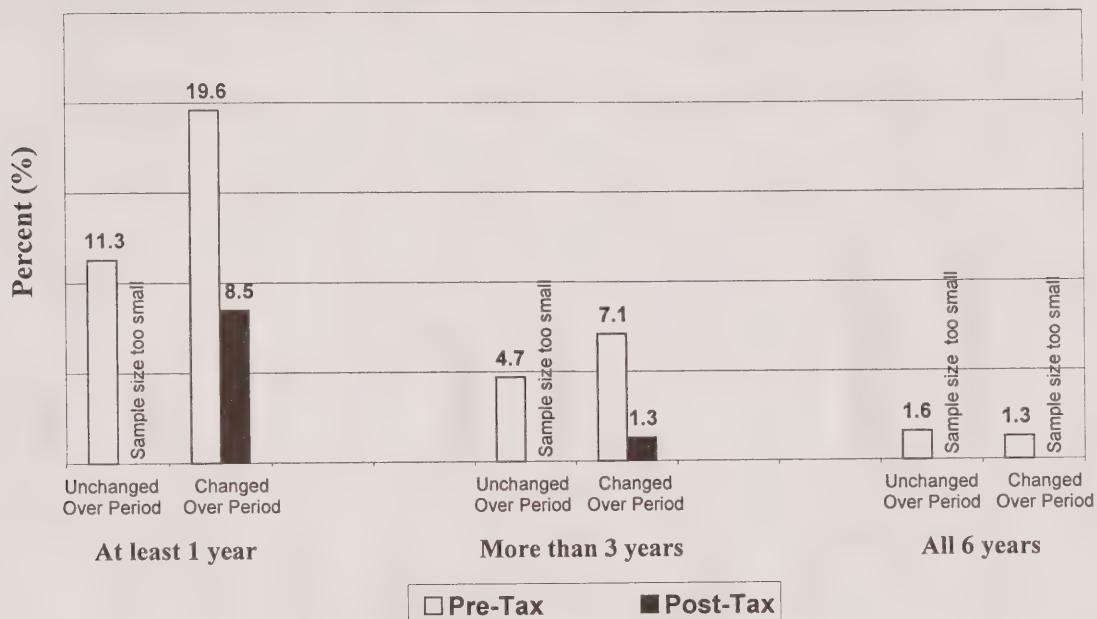


Figure 7.6: Duration of Poverty for Unattached Individuals Under 65, by Change in Marital Status, 1993-1998

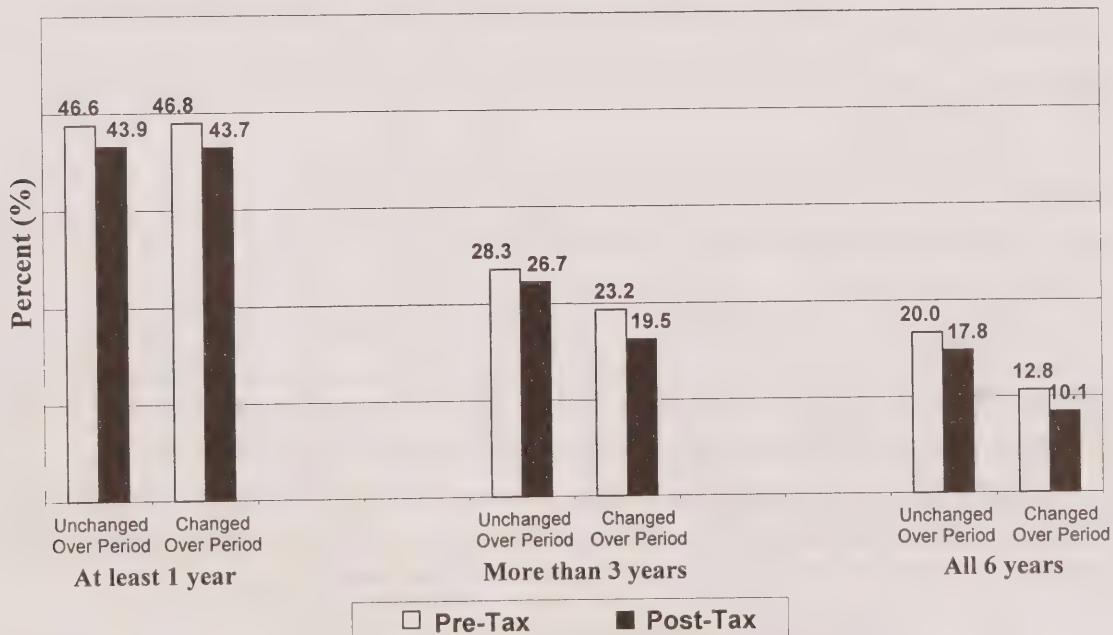
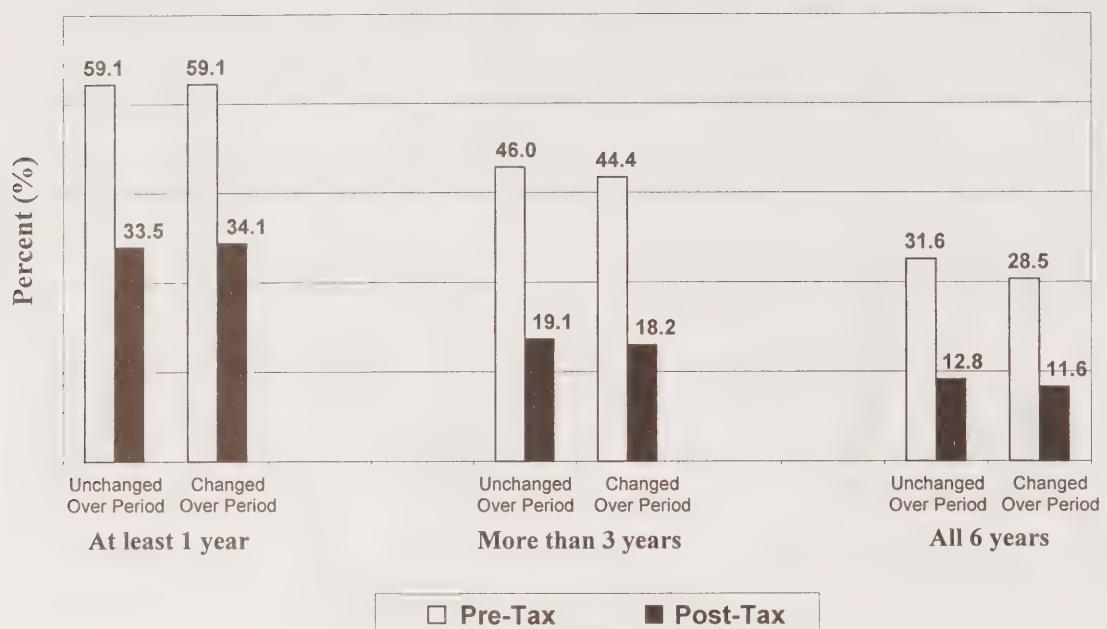


Figure 7.7: Duration of Poverty for Unattached Individuals 65 and Over, by Change in Marital Status, 1993-1998



DURATION BY AGE AND SEX

The risk of being poor varies with age but in a non-linear fashion. Using pre-tax income poverty lines, persons aged 18 to 24 years, seniors and children under 18 years of age (especially children under six years of age) are more likely than other age groups to have experienced poverty at least once in six years. In almost every adult age group, a greater percentage of women than men experience poverty at least once and for long durations. (See Table 7.16 for details.)

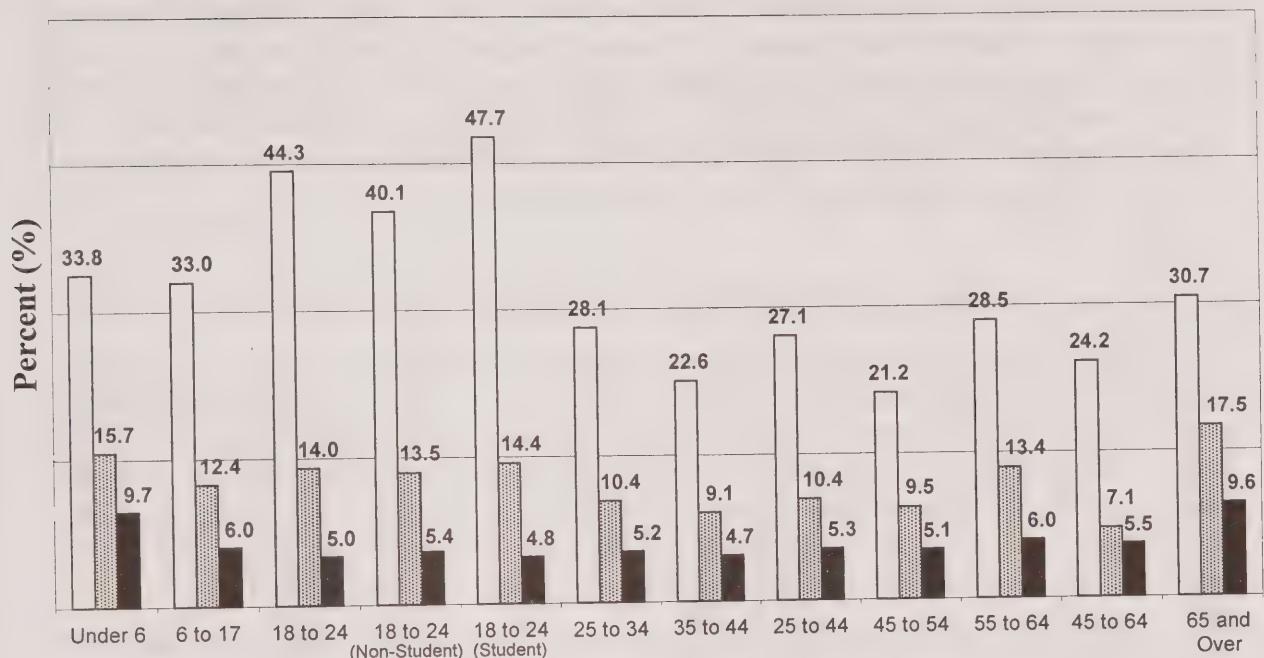
For children under six years of age, poverty tends to be a long-term experience. The National Council of Welfare considers it a tragedy that children aged less than six years were the most likely of all age groups to have lived in poverty for all of the six years of the survey.

More than for any other group, post-tax measures are dramatically lower than pre-tax measures among seniors. As Figure 7.8 shows, after taxes, the proportion of seniors exposed to poverty in at least one of the six years was 15.9 percent, practically halved from 30.7 percent before taxes. In contrast, after taxes, the proportion of children who experienced poverty at least once differed little (33.2 percent pre-tax and 29.5 percent post-tax).

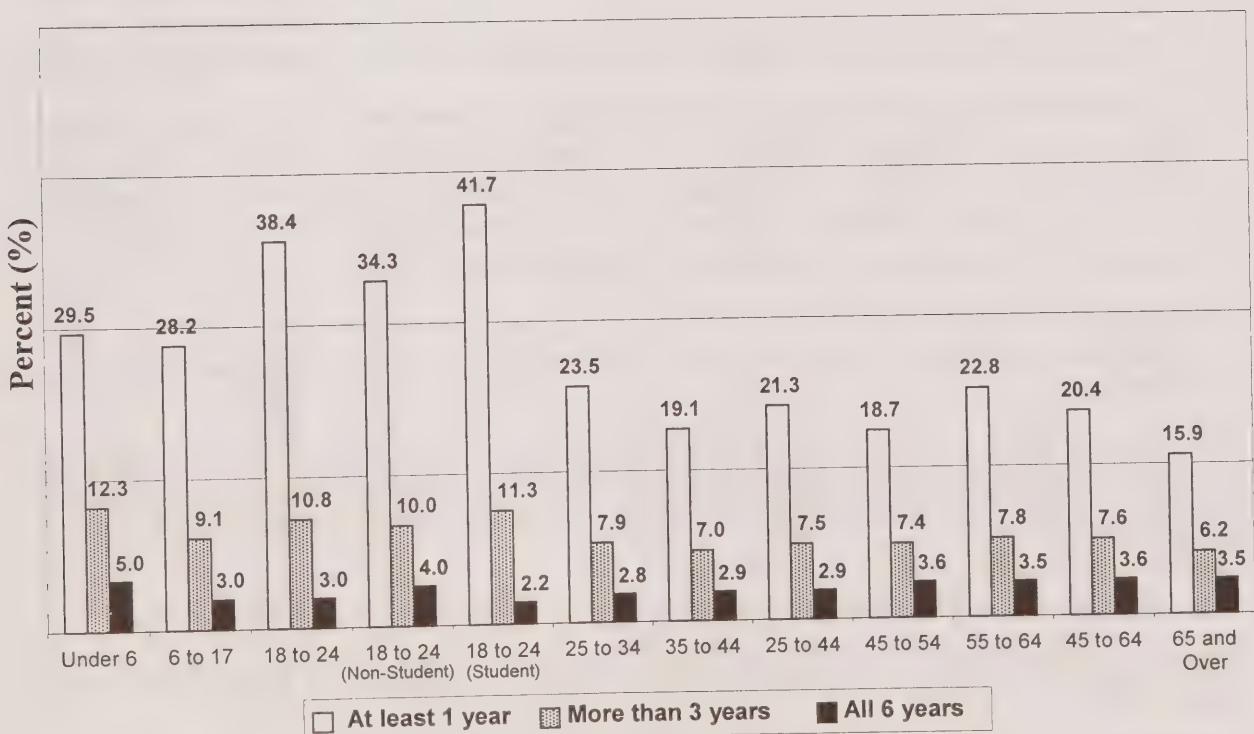
Among persons of working age, women between the age of 18 and 24 or aged 65 or over were more likely than men in the same age category to have experienced poverty in at least one of the six years and to have lived in poverty for four years or longer (Table 7.16).

Figure 7.8: Duration of Poverty by Age, 1993-1998

Pre-Tax



Post-Tax



At least 1 year More than 3 years All 6 years

For persons aged 18 to 24 years, poverty tends to be a transitional, short-term phenomenon. Whereas 44.3 percent of all young adults experienced poverty at least once, a much smaller 14.4 percent lived in poverty for four years or longer and only 4.8 percent lived in poverty from 1993 through 1998 (pre-tax). Many persons aged 18 to 24 years are post-secondary students. Results from a baseline survey which Ekos Research Associates conducted on behalf of the Canadian Millennium Scholarship Foundation² show that post-secondary students are facing severe financial problems: not only are summer jobs hard to find, summer earnings are too low to pay for increasing tuition and parental assistance is not always adequate. The situation Ekos unveiled was one of mounting credit card debt (which does not help the poverty rate) and low levels of financial aid.

DURATION BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND SEX

Persons whose education status changed and persons with less than either a non-university certificate or university degree had relatively high rates of poverty, with poverty generally more pronounced for women. For persons whose education status changed, increased poverty rates could be due to a number of factors. For example, if a person entered a university program with high fees and time demands, their financial situation may worsen temporarily even though, long-term, they will likely be at low risk of poverty. The higher the level of education, the lower the poverty rates. (See Table 7.17 for further detail.)

Table 7.17 also provides specific information for 18-24 year olds. Within this age group, women and students were more likely than men and non-students to have experienced poverty at least once and to have lived in it for four years or longer.

DURATION BY WORK LIMITATION, IMMIGRATION STATUS, MINORITY STATUS

People without any disability from 1993 through 1998 were more likely than either people with a temporary disability³ or people with a permanent disability to live above the poverty line for all of the six years.⁴ This finding is consistent with short-term data showing that persons living with disabilities are among groups most at risk of becoming poor⁵. For example, based on pre-tax poverty lines, 23 percent of persons without disability compared to

² See *Student Financial Survey: Baseline Results* Canada Millennium Scholarship Foundation Research Series (November, 2001).

Also see Looker, Diane; Lowe, Graham S., sponsored by the Canadian Millennium Scholarship Foundation, *Post-Secondary Access and Student Financial Aid in Canada: Current Knowledge and Research Gaps*, Background Paper for a Canadian Policy Research Networks Workshop on Post-Secondary Access and Student Financial Aid (February 2001).

³ Here, people with a temporary disability are those who had some work limitation between 1993 and 1998.

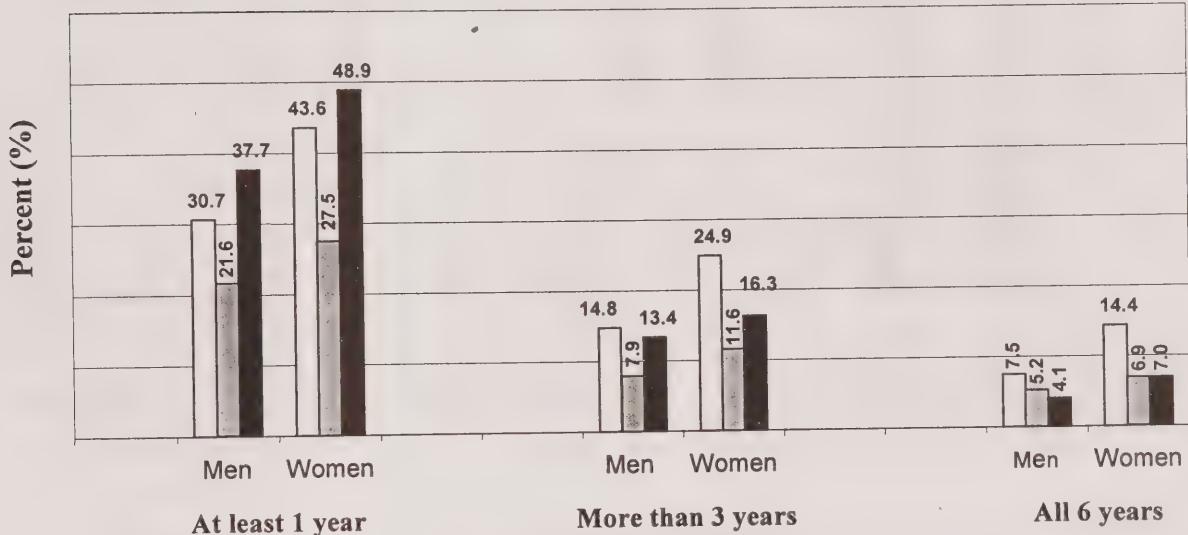
⁴ In this study, people with a permanent disability are those who had a work limitation for all of the years from 1993 through 1998.

⁵ Canadian Council on Social Development's *Disability Information Sheet No. 3*, 2001:6.

35.8 percent of persons with a temporary disability and 55.2 percent of persons with a permanent disability were exposed to poverty at least once during the six years. Similarly, 3.2 percent of persons without disability compared to 7.3 percent of persons with a temporary disability and 21.3 percent of persons with a permanent disability lived in poverty for all of the six years.

Figure 7.9: Duration of Poverty by Sex and Education (High School), 1993-1998

Pre-Tax



Post-Tax

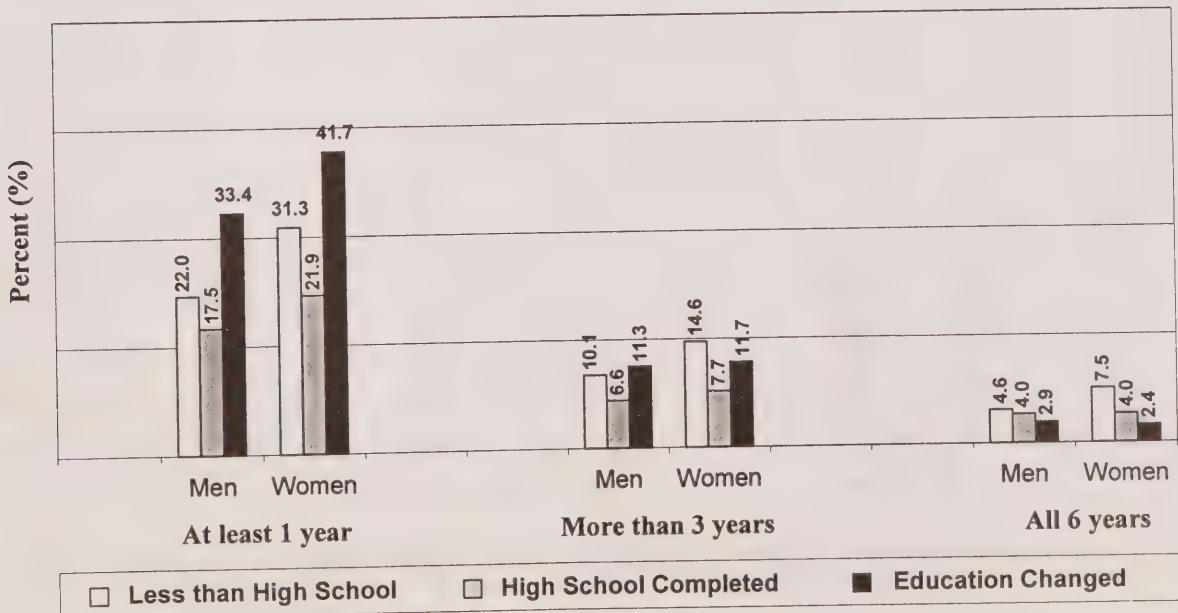
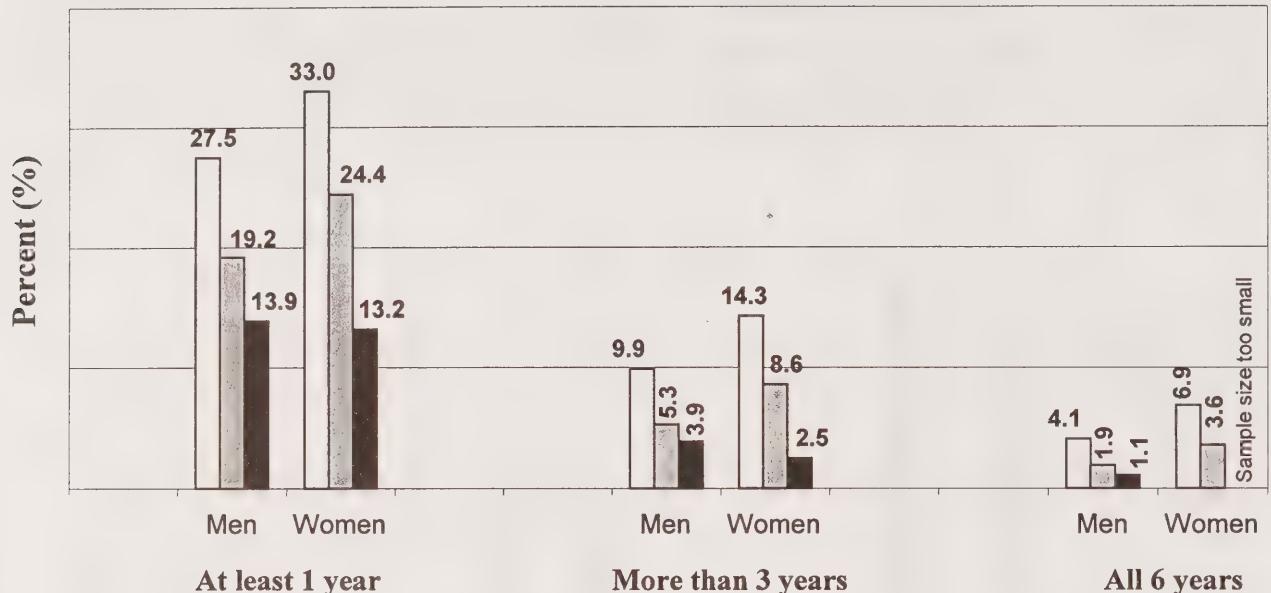


Figure 7.10: Duration of Poverty by Sex and Education (Greater than High School), 1993-1998

Pre-Tax



Post-Tax

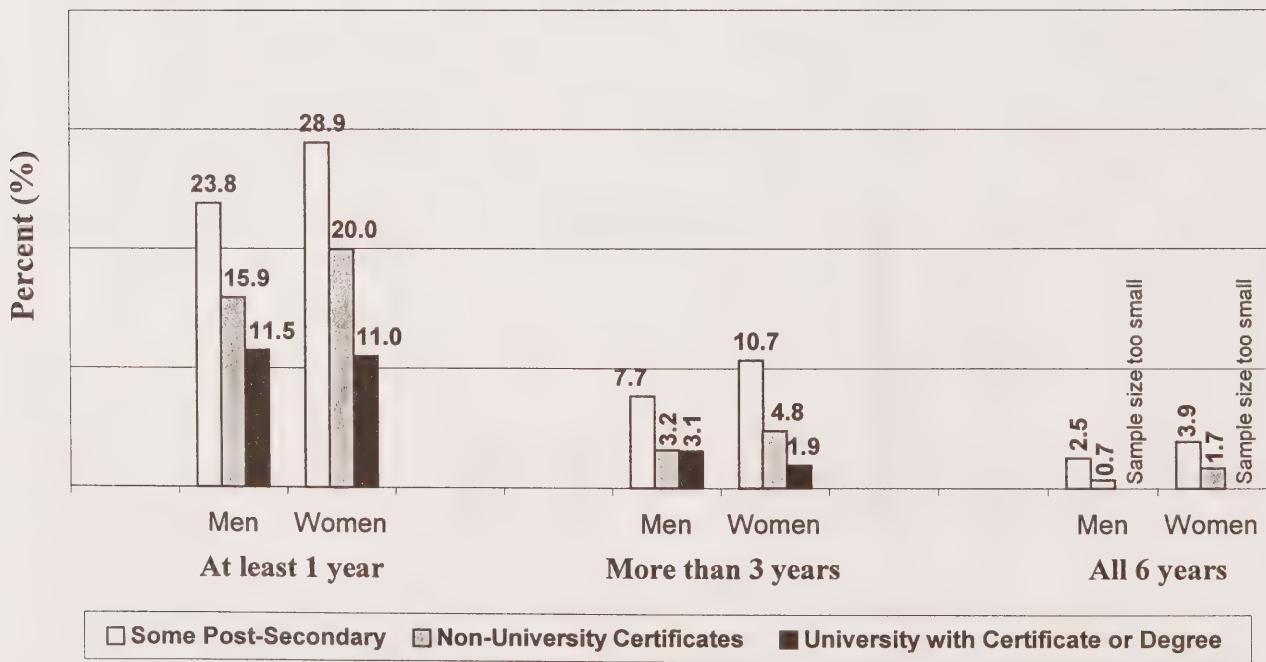


Figure 7.11: Duration of Poverty by Work Limitation in Canada, 1993-1998

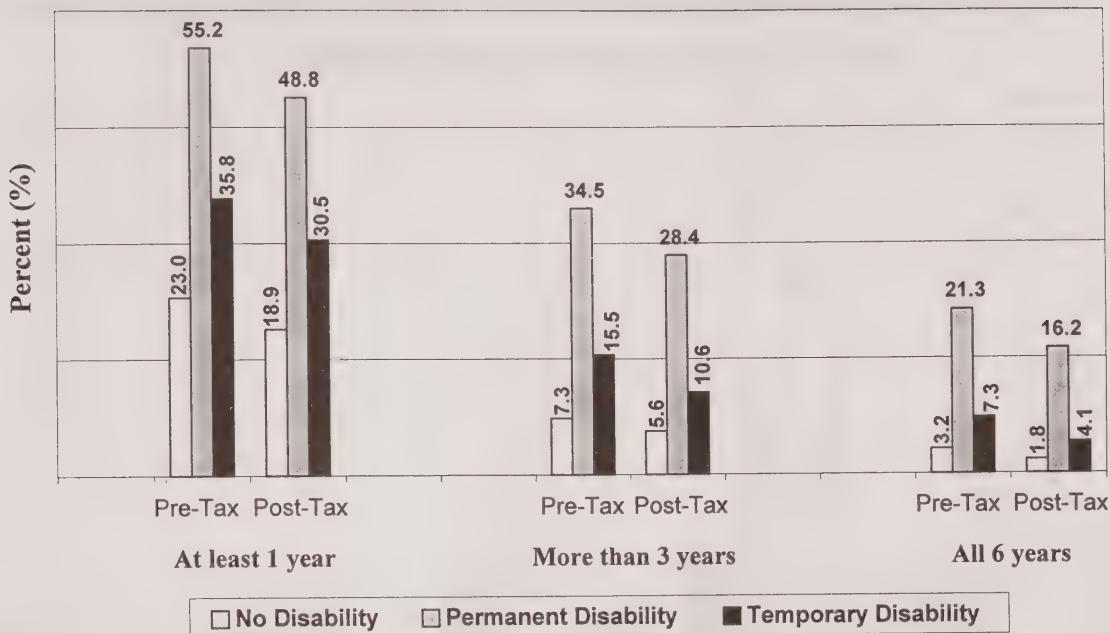


Table 7.18 present details on how long-term poverty rates varied with minority status. According to 1996 Census figures, Aboriginal persons living off-reserve made up only 0.9 percent of the total Canadian population. However, about 49.4 percent of them, compared to 28 percent of persons who are not visible minorities, lived below the pre-tax poverty line in at least one year between 1993 and 1998.

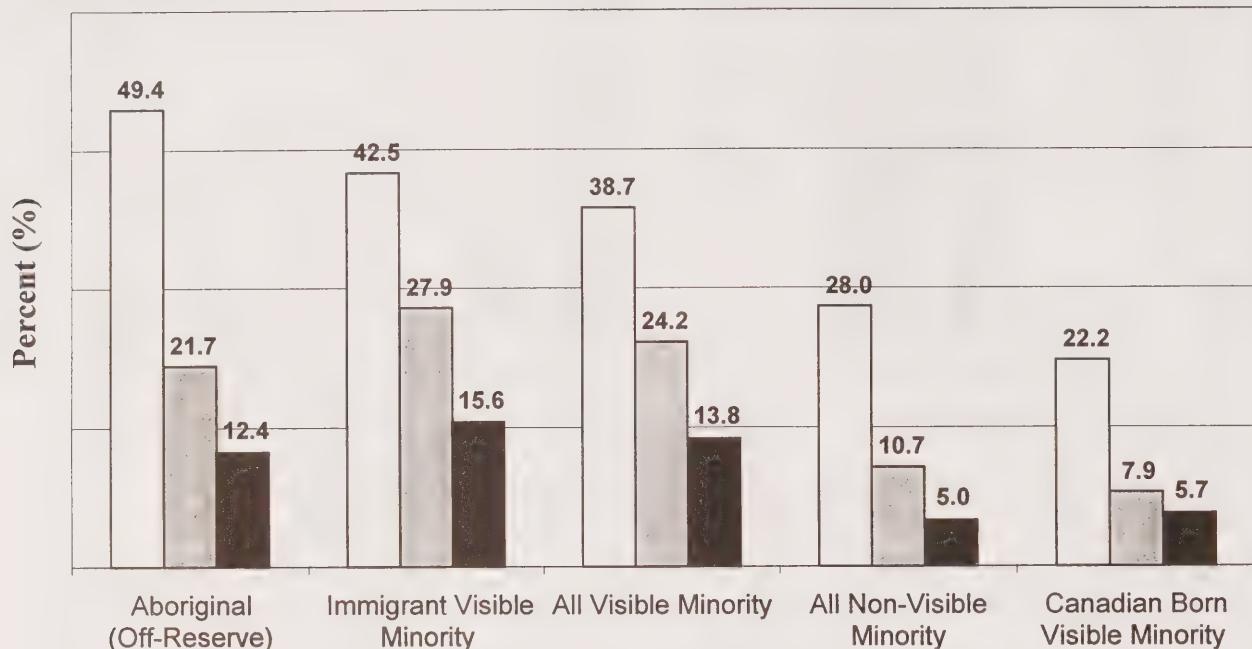
Within the same six-year period, immigrant visible minorities formed about 6 percent of the Canadian population. Yet about 42.5 percent of immigrant visible minorities, compared to 29.5 percent of the total population, lived in poverty in at least one year of the six-year period.

The proportion of Aboriginal persons living in poverty for all of the six years and for more than three years was significantly lower using post-tax rates. However, even after taxes, Aboriginal persons were over-represented among persons exposed to poverty at least once. Moreover, they were second only to members of a visible minority born outside of Canada in terms of proportions of persons who lived in poverty for more than three years. Using post-tax rates, 41.2 percent of Aboriginal persons, 38.3 percent of immigrants, 22.3 percent of persons who do not belong to a visible minority and 18.3 percent of persons who are members of a visible minority experienced poverty at least once.

Persons who immigrated to Canada after 1979 were more likely than persons who immigrated before 1970 or persons born in Canada to have experienced poverty at least once, to have lived in poverty for more than three years and to have lived in poverty for all of the six years. Post-tax poverty rates remained lowest among earlier immigrants to Canada followed closely by persons born in Canada. About 39 percent of persons who immigrated most recently, 26.5 percent of persons who immigrated between 1970 and 1979, 22.5 percent of persons born in Canada and 16.2 percent of persons who immigrated before 1970 lived in poverty for at least one year.

Figure 7.12: Duration of Poverty by Minority Status in Canada, 1993-1998

Pre-Tax



Post-Tax

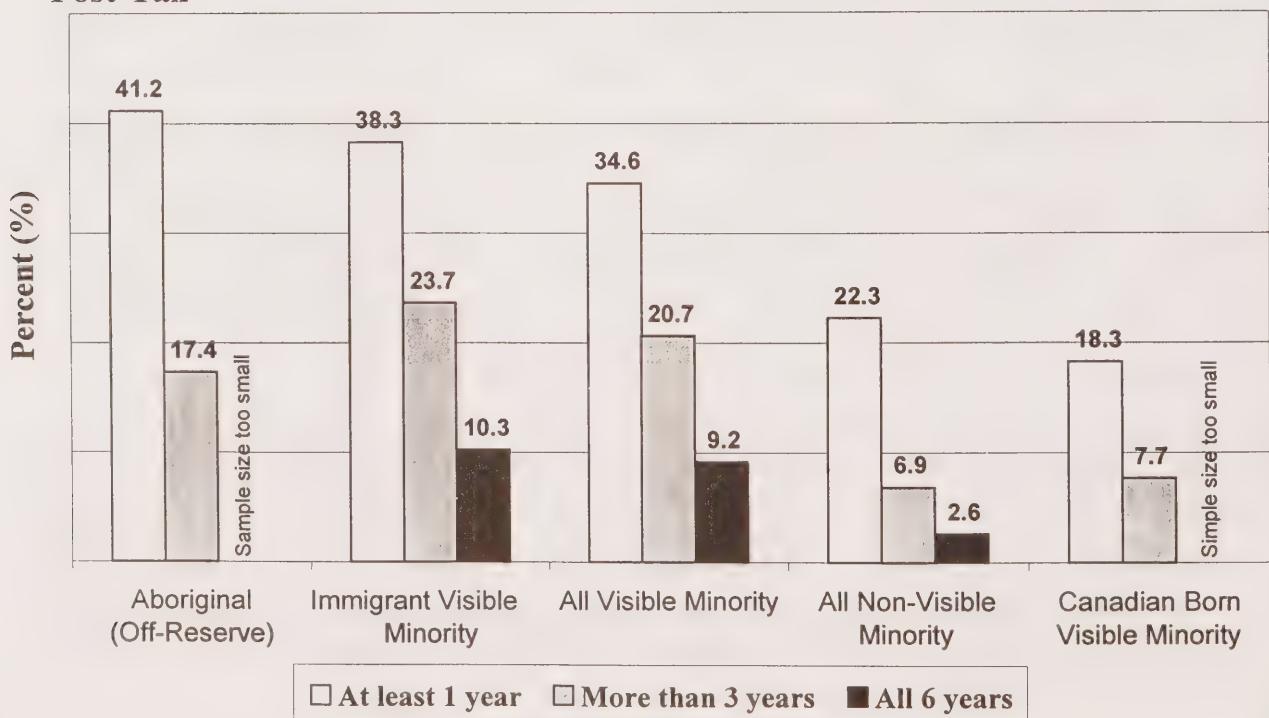
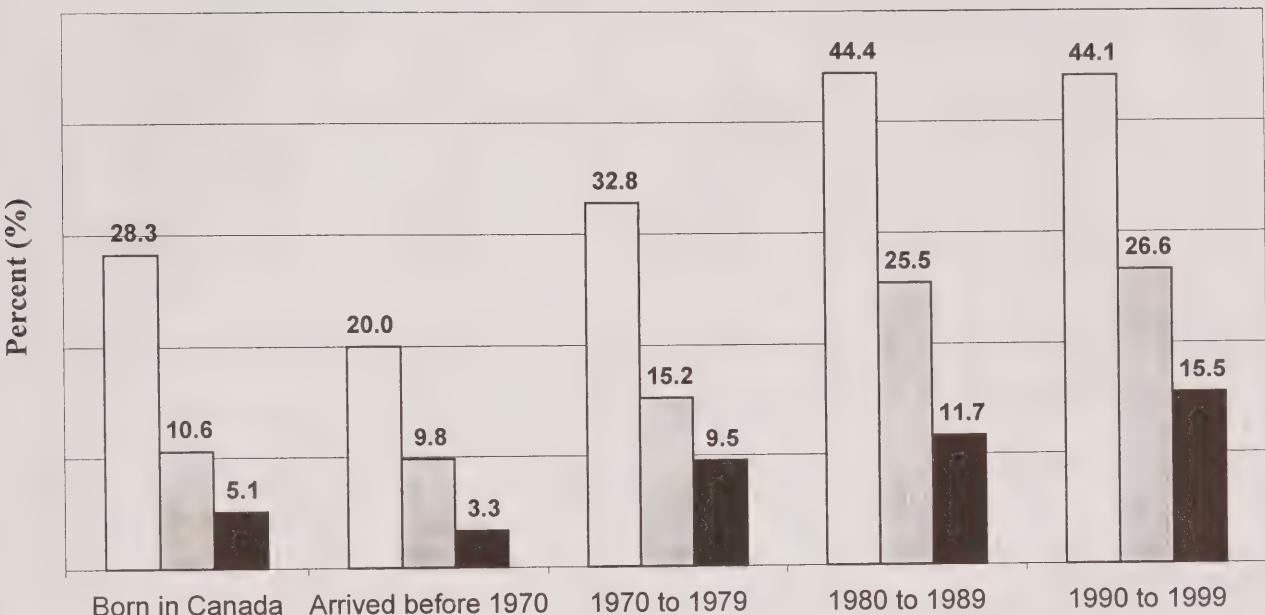


Figure 7.13: Duration of Poverty by Immigration Status, 1993-1998

Pre-Tax



Post-Tax

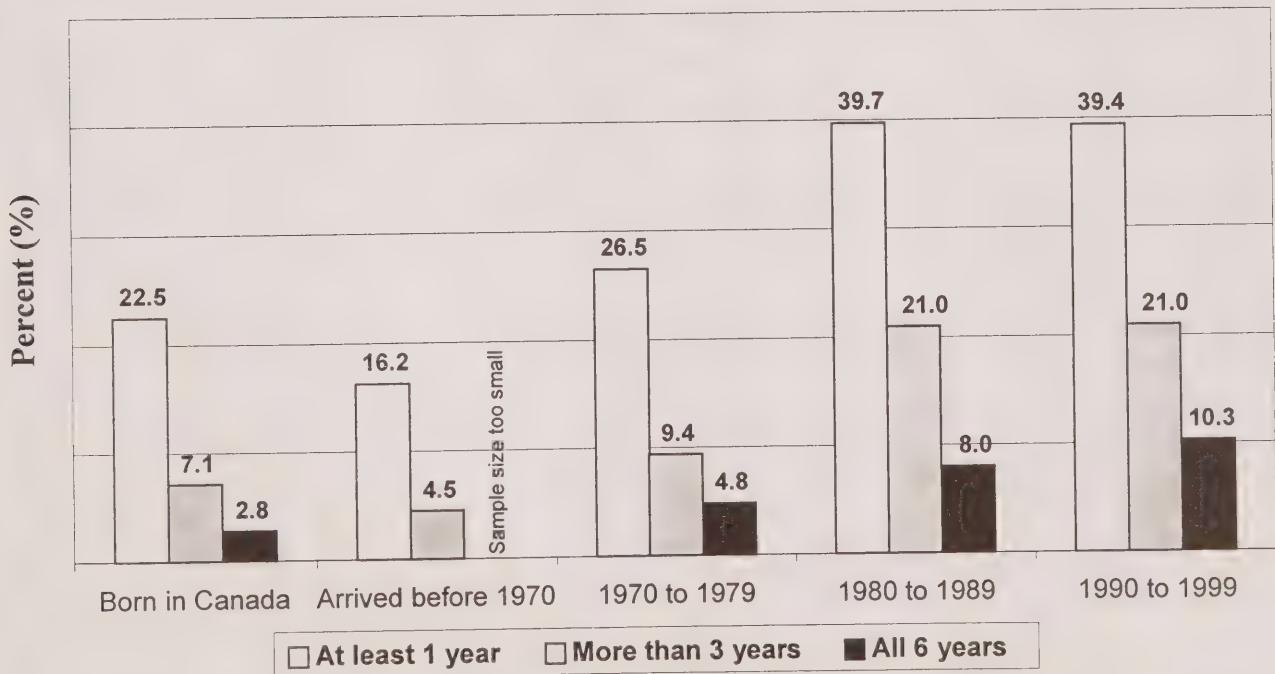


TABLE 7.14: PERCENTAGE OF PERSONS LIVING IN POVERTY, BY FAMILY COMPOSITION, 1993 TO 1998

Family Composition	Total Number of Individuals or Families	Pre-Tax (%)			Post-Tax (%)		
		All Six Years (%)	At Least Once (%)	Four Years or More (%)	All Six Years (%)	At Least Once (%)	Four Years or More (%)
Unattached Individuals (All Years)	1,729,000	24.3	51.2	34.8	15.9	40.0	23.9
Unattached Individuals (1993)	2,870,000	16.7	49.9	28.4	10.4	41.3	19.2
Unattached Individuals Under 65 (All Years)	1,082,000	20.0	46.6	28.3	17.8	43.9	26.7
Unattached Individuals Under 65 (1993)	2,163,000	12.8	46.8	23.2	10.1	43.7	19.5
Unattached Individuals 65 and Over (All Years)	637,000	31.6	59.1	46.0	12.8	33.5	19.1
Unattached Individuals 65 and Over (1993)	707,000	28.5	59.1	44.4	11.6	34.1	18.2
Single-Parent Mothers (All Years)	598,000	41.7	75.8	57.0	18.0	63.5	47.5
Single-Parent Mothers (1993)	1,414,000	23.5	69.7	39.5	10.1	59.4	30.8
Single Parents (All Years)	656,000	39.9	72.0	54.5	18.3	60.2	45.2
Single Parents (1993)	1,652,000	22.9	66.8	38.7	11.4	57.5	30.6
Couples Under 65 without Children Under 18 (All Years)	1,530,000	1.3	16.4	4.9	--	11.9	1.8
Couples Under 65 without Children Under 18 (1993)	3,167,000	1.6	19.1	5.8	0.7	15.1	3.3
Couple Under 65 with Children Under 18 (All Years)	8,073,000	4.2	19.3	7.1	2.5	15.8	5.3
Couple Under 65 with Children Under 18 (1993)	11,843,000	4.1	24.0	8.1	2.4	20.2	5.9
Couples without Children (All Years)	2,529,000	1.4	14.4	4.8	--	7.7	1.1
Couples without Children (1993)	4,477,000	1.5	19.2	6.1	0.5	13.2	2.7
Couples 65 and Over (All Years)	999,000	1.6	11.3	4.7	--	--	--
Couples 65 and Over (1993)	1,310,000	1.3	19.6	7.1	--	8.5	1.3

-- Sample size too small.

TABLE 7.15: YEARS LIVED IN POVERTY BY AGE, 1993 TO 1998

Characteristics	Total Number of Individuals or Families	Pre-Tax (%)			Post-Tax (%)		
		All Six Years	At Least Once	Four Years or More	All Six Years	At least Once	Four Years or More
Age – Less than 6	1,844,000	9.7	33.8	15.7	5.0	29.5	12.3
Age – 6 to 17	4,640,000	6.0	33.0	12.4	3.0	28.2	9.1
Age – Less than 18	6,484,000	7.1	33.2	13.4	3.6	28.5	10.0
Age – 18 to 64	16,415,000	5.1	27.9	10.8	3.1	23.6	8.0
Age – 18 to 24	2,480,000	5.0	44.3	14.0	3.0	38.4	10.8
Age – 25 to 34	4,487,000	5.2	28.1	10.4	2.8	23.5	7.9
Age – 35 to 44	4,226,000	4.7	22.6	9.1	2.9	19.1	7.0
Age – 45 to 54	3,027,000	5.1	21.2	9.5	3.6	18.7	7.4
Age – 55 to 64	2,196,000	6.0	28.5	13.4	3.5	22.8	7.8
Age – 65 and Over	2,317,000	9.6	30.7	17.5	3.5	15.9	6.2

Source: Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics

TABLE 7.16: YEARS LIVED IN POVERTY BY SEX AND AGE, 1993 TO 1998

Characteristics	Total Number of Individuals or Families*	Pre-Tax (%)			Post-Tax (%)		
		All Six Years	At Least Once	Four Years or More	All Six Years	At least Once	Four Years or More
Women - 18 to 64	8,290,000	6.2	30.7	12.5	3.5	25.8	9.0
18 to 24 - All	1,250,000	7.1	48.5	17.0	3.6	42.1	12.2
Students	707,000	6.5	50.2	16.6	1.9	43.7	11.4
Non-Students	542,000	7.9	46.3	17.5	5.8	40.1	13.4
25 to 34	2,260,000	7.0	30.9	12.4	3.5	26.6	9.5
35 to 44	2,141,000	5.0	24.3	9.6	3.0	19.9	7.4
45 to 54	1,509,000	5.4	23.2	10.3	3.4	20.2	7.4
55 to 64	1,130,000	7.0	32.5	16.4	4.5	24.9	9.5
65 and over	1,393,000	13.8	38.4	23.0	5.1	21.6	8.1
Men - 18 to 64	8,125,000	4.0	25.1	9.1	2.7	21.4	7.0
18 to 24 - All	1,230,000	2.9	40.1	11.0	2.4	34.7	9.3
Students	684,000	2.9	45.1	12.2	2.6	39.6	11.2
Non-Students	546,000	2.9	33.9	9.5	--	28.5	6.8
25 to 34	2,226,000	3.4	25.3	8.3	2.1	20.3	6.4
35 to 44	2,085,000	4.3	20.8	8.6	2.9	18.2	6.7
45 to 54	1,158,000	4.8	19.1	8.7	3.7	17.1	7.3
55 to 64	1,066,000	5.0	24.2	10.1	2.5	20.5	6.0
65 and Over	924,000	3.4	19.2	9.3	--	7.3	3.3

Source: Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics

*Due to the effects of rounding, sub-categories of a particular group may not always add up exactly to total.

--Sample size too small.

TABLE 7.17: YEARS LIVED IN POVERTY BY SEX AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION, 1993 TO 1998

Characteristics	Total Number of Individuals *	Pre-Tax (%)			Post-Tax (%)		
		All Six Years	At Least Once	Four Years or Longer	All Six Years	At Least Once	Four Years or Longer
Education Status Unchanged							
Less Than High School							
All (All Years)	4,578,000	11.1	37.4	20.1	6.2	26.9	12.5
Women (All Years)	2,393,000	14.4	43.6	24.9	7.5	31.3	14.6
Men (All Years)	2,185,000	7.5	30.7	14.8	4.6	22.0	10.1
High School Completed							
All (All Years)	2,385,000	6.2	25.0	10.0	4.0	20.0	7.2
Women (All Years)	1,360,000	6.9	27.5	11.6	4.0	21.9	7.7
Men (All Years)	1,025,000	5.2	21.6	7.9	4.0	17.5	6.6
Some Post-Secondary							
All (All Years)	1,783,000	5.5	30.2	12.1	3.2	26.3	9.2
Women (All Years)	873,000	6.9	33.0	14.3	3.9	28.9	10.7
Men (All Years)	910,000	4.1	27.5	9.9	2.5	23.8	7.7
Non-university certificates							
All (All Years)	5,042,000	2.8	22.0	7.0	1.2	18.0	4.0
Women (All Years)	2,655,000	3.6	24.4	8.6	1.7	20.0	4.8
Men (All Years)	2,388,000	1.9	19.2	5.3	0.7	15.9	3.2
University with certificate or degree							
All (All Years)	2,640,000	0.9	13.6	3.2	--	11.3	2.5
Women (All Years)	1,236,000	--	13.2	2.5	--	11.0	1.9
Men (All Years)	1,404,000	1.1	13.9	3.9	--	11.5	3.1
Education Changed							
All	2,793,000	5.6	43.3	14.9	2.6	37.6	11.5
Women	1,402,000	7.0	48.9	16.3	2.4	41.7	11.7
Men	1,391,000	4.1	37.7	13.4	2.9	33.4	11.3
Age 18 to 24 Only							
All	2,480,000	5.0	44.3	14.0	3.0	38.4	10.8
Students	1,391,000	4.8	47.7	14.4	2.2	41.7	11.3
Non-Students	1,088,000	5.4	40.1	13.5	4.0	34.3	10.0
Women - All	1,250,000	7.1	48.5	17.0	3.6	42.1	12.2
Students	707,000	6.5	50.2	16.6	1.9	43.7	11.4
Non-Students	542,000	7.9	46.3	17.5	5.8	40.1	13.4
Men - All	1,230,000	2.9	40.1	11.0	2.4	34.7	9.3
Students	684,000	2.9	45.1	12.2	2.6	39.6	11.2
Non-Students	546,000	2.9	33.9	9.5	--	28.5	6.8

*Due to the effects of rounding, sub-categories of a particular group may not always add up exactly to total.

--Sample size too small.

TABLE 7.18: YEARS LIVED IN POVERTY BY DISABILITY, VISIBLE MINORITY STATUS AND IMMIGRATION STATUS IN CANADA, 1993 TO 1998

Characteristics	Total Number of Individuals or Families	Pre-Tax (%)			Post-Tax (%)		
		All Six Years	At Least Once	Four Years or Longer	All Six Years	At Least Once	Four Years or Longer
Work Limitation Status							
Work Limitation	372,000	21.3	55.2	34.5	16.2	48.8	28.4
Work Limitation – Status Changed	6,868,000	7.3	35.8	15.5	4.1	30.5	10.6
No Work Limitation	10,450,000	3.2	23.0	7.3	1.8	18.9	5.6
Visible Minority Status							
Minority Status – Aboriginal	127,000	12.4	49.4	21.7	--	41.2	17.4
Visible Minority – Immigrant	1,140,000	15.6	42.5	27.9	10.3	38.3	23.7
Visible Minority	1,399,000	13.8	38.7	24.2	9.2	34.6	20.7
Not A Visible Minority	18,008,000	5.0	28.0	10.7	2.6	22.3	6.9
Visible Minority – Canadian Born	252,000	5.7	22.2	7.9	--	18.3	7.7
Immigration Status							
Immigrant, after 1989	562,000	15.5	44.1	26.6	10.3	39.4	21.0
Immigrant, 1980-1989	658,000	11.7	44.4	25.5	8.0	39.7	21.0
Immigrant, 1970-1979	782,000	9.5	32.8	15.2	4.8	26.5	9.4
Immigrant, before 1970	1,612,000	3.3	20.0	9.8	--	16.2	4.5
Canadian Born	15,794,000	5.1	28.3	10.6	2.8	22.5	7.1

Source: Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics, 1993-1999.

--Sample size too small.

VIII. A CLOSER LOOK AT GROUPS OF SPECIAL INTEREST

WOMEN

As noted in earlier chapters, women face a significantly higher risk of poverty than men. Table 8.1 gives the poverty rates for women and men age 18 and older for the years 1980 to 1999, and the ratio of female to male poverty rates each year. Table 8.2 presents both the pre-tax and the post-tax poverty rates for women and men for 1999.

In 1980, the poverty rate for adult women was 18.8 percent, the rate for adult men was 13.2 percent and the ratio of poor women to poor men was 1.42 to 1. In 1999, the poverty rate for women was 17.5 percent, the rate for men was 13.2 percent and the ratio between the sexes was 1.33 to 1. The best gender ratio during the 1980-99 period was 1.26 to 1 in 1996 and it has deteriorated somewhat since then.

Most of the differences between the sexes can be explained by the high poverty rates of three family types: unattached women under 65, unattached women 65 and over, and single-parent mothers under 65 with children under 18. The 1999 poverty rate for unattached women under 65 was 42.3 percent, compared to 33.2 percent for unattached men under 65. For unattached seniors, the poverty rates were 48.5 percent for women and 33.2 percent for men. Single-parent families led by women had a poverty rate of 51.8 percent in 1999. Most women in Canada are in husband-wife families, and the poverty rates for husbands and wives are considered to be identical in these cases¹.

In working age husband-wife families, one fact that deserves special mention is the role of women's earnings in keeping their families out of poverty. Although women earn less on average than men and face a number of barriers to equal participation in the labour force, their contribution is essential to keeping family poverty rates relatively low.

To get a better idea of the importance of women's earnings to their families, we asked Statistics Canada to subtract the earnings of wives from the total income of husband-wife families and calculate hypothetical poverty rates for families with wives' earnings removed as in Table 8.3. Only families where women had earnings in 1999 are included in the table.

Poverty rates for families with children are considerably higher when wives' earnings are deducted from total income, compared to poverty rates for families with no children under 18. For example, when the incomes of both husbands and wives are considered, the actual poverty rate for husband-wife families with children under 18 years of age was 5.8 percent using pre-tax measures. However, if wives' earnings were deducted from total income, poverty rates would have been about four times higher at 21.4 percent.

¹ A caveat is in order here. The National Council of Welfare recognizes that in reality, couples do not necessarily share their incomes equally. See Phipps, Shelley; MacDonald, Martha and Macphail, Fiona: "Gender Equity within Families versus Better Targeting" in *Canadian Public Policy* (XXVII no 4, December 2001).

TABLE 8.1: TRENDS IN POVERTY AMONG WOMEN AND MEN 18 AND OVER, 1980-1999

	Women		Men		Ratio of Female to Male Poverty Rates
	Number of Poor	Poverty Rate (%)	Number of Poor	Poverty Rate (%)	
1980	1,657,000	18.8%	1,133,000	13.2%	1.42
1981	1,670,000	18.4%	1,152,000	13.1%	1.40
1982	1,745,000	18.8%	1,266,000	14.1%	1.33
1983	1,930,000	20.5%	1,431,000	15.8%	1.30
1984	1,958,000	20.5%	1,423,000	15.4%	1.33
1985	1,887,000	19.5%	1,352,000	14.4%	1.35
1986	1,812,000	18.5%	1,298,000	13.7%	1.35
1987	1,813,000	18.2%	1,291,000	13.4%	1.36
1988	1,804,000	17.8%	1,186,000	12.2%	1.46
1989	1,668,000	16.2%	1,087,000	11.0%	1.47
1990	1,783,000	17.1%	1,203,000	12.0%	1.43
1991	1,911,000	18.0%	1,352,000	13.2%	1.36
1992	2,000,000	18.5%	1,449,000	13.9%	1.33
1993	2,137,000	19.5%	1,522,000	14.4%	1.35
1994	2,090,000	18.8%	1,473,000	13.7%	1.37
1995	2,122,000	18.8%	1,595,000	14.7%	1.28
1996	2,248,000	19.7%	1,701,000	15.6%	1.26
1997	2,287,000	19.8%	1,669,000	15.0%	1.32
1998	2,146,000	18.3%	1,555,000	13.8%	1.33
1999	2,074,000	17.5%	1,499,000	13.2%	1.33

TABLE 8.2: TRENDS IN POVERTY AMONG WOMEN AND MEN 18 AND OVER, 1999

	Number of Poor	Poverty Rate (%)	Ratio of Female to Male Poverty Rates	Number of Poor	Poverty Rate (%)	Ratio of Female to Male Poverty Rates
	Pre-Tax			Post-Tax		
Women	2,074,000	17.5%	1.33	1,466,000	12.4%	1.25
Men	1,499,000	13.2%		1,127,000	9.9%	

TABLE 8.3: POVERTY RATES FOR HUSBAND-WIFE FAMILIES UNDER AGE 65, WITH AND WITHOUT THE EARNINGS OF WIVES, 1999

Family	All Families	Number of Poor Families				Poverty Rate			
		With Woman's Earnings		Without Woman's Earnings		With Woman's Earnings		Without Woman's Earnings	
		Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax	Pre-Tax	Post-Tax
Two-Parent Families Under 65 with Children Under 18	2,475,000	142,000	74,000	530,000	369,000	5.8%	3.0%	21.4%	14.9%
Two-Parent Families Under 65 with at Least One Child Under Six	1,035,000	75,000	34,000	215,000	153,000	7.2%	3.3%	20.8%	14.8%
Two-Parent Families Under 65 with All Children Six to 17 Years Old	1,441,000	68,000	40,000	315,000	216,000	4.7%	2.8%	21.9%	15.0%
Couples without Children	2,100,000	79,000	43,000	354,000	257,000	3.8%	2.1%	16.9%	12.2%

Source: Statistics Canada, Income Statistics Division, Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics

For couples with no children, the spousal contribution had a similar effect on pre-tax poverty rates. When both husbands' and wives' earnings were considered, the poverty rate was 3.8 percent but without wives' earnings would have been 16.9 percent. Using post-tax poverty rates, the differences were even more dramatic. The rate would have been five times higher for families with children and six times higher for couples without children.

CHILDREN

Child poverty rates reflect parental poverty rates and tend to rise or fall as economic conditions deteriorate or improve. The national poverty rate for children fell from 19.2 percent in 1998 to 18.7 percent in 1999, and the number of poor children fell from 1,353,000 to 1,313,000. The most striking difference year after year, however, is the huge gulf between the poverty rates for children in two-parent families and the rates for children in single-parent families. There are also important differences from province to province.

One of the long-standing myths about child poverty is that most poor children live in single-parent households. Figures 8.5 to 8.7 show that this is not the case. In 1999, a total of 1,305,000 children lived in poverty. Of these, 696,000 poor children lived in two-parent families and 522,000 poor children lived in single-mother families. These numbers have increased since 1980 when 652,000 poor children lived with two parents and 354,000 with single mother and 19,000 in single-father families. There were also 35,000 poor children in 1980 and 53,000 in 1999 living in less common family circumstances for example, with parents aged 65 years or older. With the exception of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Saskatchewan, there are more poor children living in two-parent families than in single-parent families.

Nonetheless, the proportion of children living with single-parent mothers in poverty has grown substantially over the last two decades. As Figure 8.4 shows, 33 percent of all poor children in 1980 lived in families headed by single-parent mothers, and most of the rest lived in two-parent families. Figure 8.5 demonstrates that in 1999, the comparative proportion of poor children with single-parent mothers was up to 40 percent and the proportion living with both parents was down to 53 percent.

The provincial child poverty rates for 1999 are shown in Figure 8.6. Provincial trends in child poverty from 1980 to 1999 are shown in Figures 8.7 to Figure 8.16. The lowest provincial child poverty rate in 1999 was 16.4 percent in Prince Edward Island, and the highest was 25.7 percent in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Between 1998 and 1999, the poverty rates for children rose slightly by 0.2 percentage points in Manitoba and by 0.4 percentage points in Newfoundland and Labrador but jumped by 5.4 percentage points in Prince Edward Island. In contrast, child poverty rates decreased marginally by 0.1 percentage points in New Brunswick, by 0.7 percentage points in each of Saskatchewan and Alberta, by 1.1 percentage points in Ontario, by 3.2 percentage points in British Columbia and by 4.1 percentage points in Nova Scotia.

Figure 8.4: Pre-Tax Distribution of Poor Children by Family Type, 1980

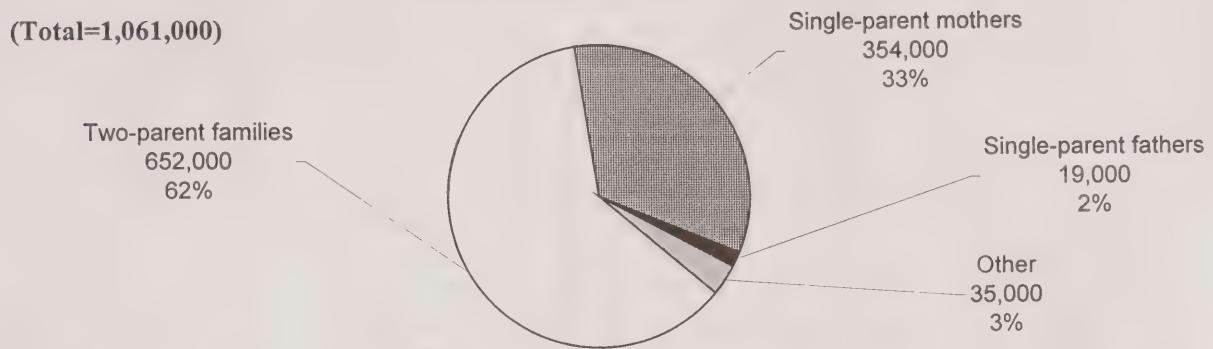
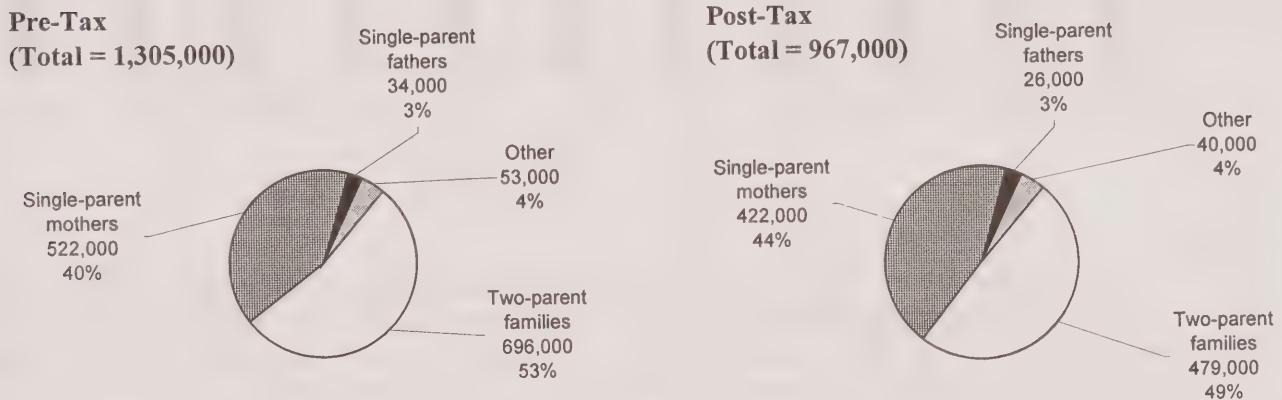


Figure 8.5: Distribution of Poor Children by Family Type, 1999

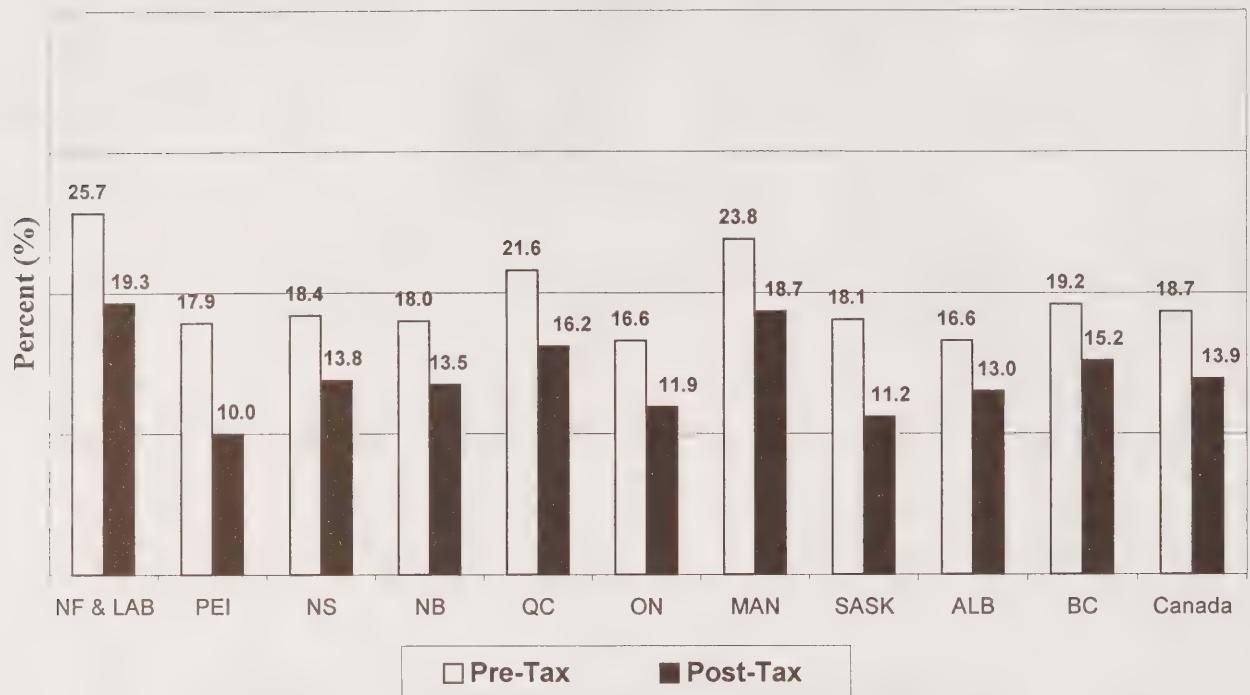


While the national poverty rate for children in two-parent families was 12.2 percent in 1999, provincial rates ranged from a low of 9.3 percent in Nova Scotia to a high of 18.9 percent in Newfoundland and Labrador. The poverty rates for children with single-parent mothers were abysmally high. The national rate was 51.8 percent and the provincial rates ranged from 48.2 percent in Prince Edward Island to 71.6 percent in Newfoundland and Labrador.

SENIORS

Fighting poverty among seniors has been one of Canada's biggest success stories in social policy during the latter part of the 20th century. Poverty rates for people 65 and older have fallen dramatically over the years and continue to fall more or less steadily.

Figure 8.6: Percentage of Children in Poverty, by Province, 1999

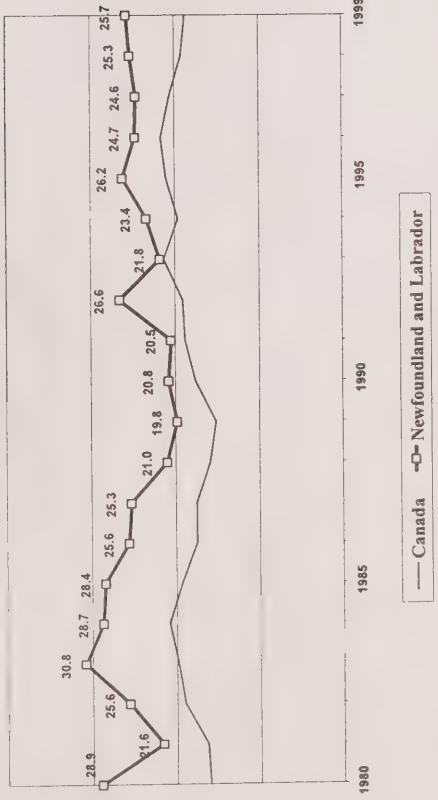


In 1999, the poverty rate for all seniors fell to 17.7 percent from 19.7 percent in 1998. Senior couples and unattached senior men were the main beneficiaries. The pre-tax poverty rate for senior couples fell from 7 percent in 1998 to 4.7 percent in 1999. The poverty rate for senior men similarly fell from 35.1 percent in 1998 to 31.9 percent in 1999. The poverty rate for senior women, however, increased from 47.9 percent in 1998 to 48.5 percent in 1999.

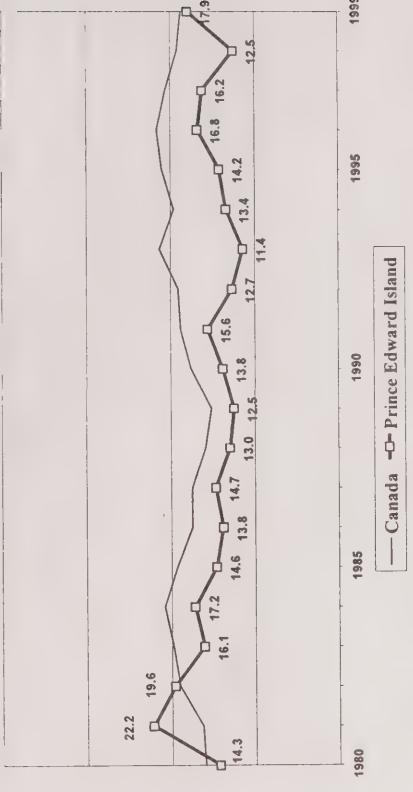
Poverty rates for seniors varied from one province to another and varied between women and men in each province. Ontario had a record low rate for senior women of 18.1 percent in 1999 from another low of 18.3 percent in 1998. In the reverse, Quebec had the highest poverty rate for senior women at 31.8 percent in 1999, although it represents a significant improvement from 36.2 percent in 1998.

In all provinces, the poverty rates for senior men remain well below the rates for senior women. Details of the rates for women and men in all provinces from 1980 to 1999 are shown in Figures 8.17 to 8.26.

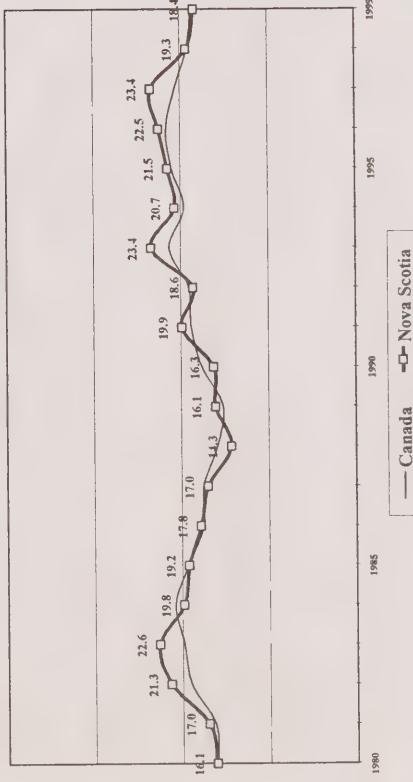
**Figure 8.7: Newfoundland and Labrador
Percent of Children in Poverty**



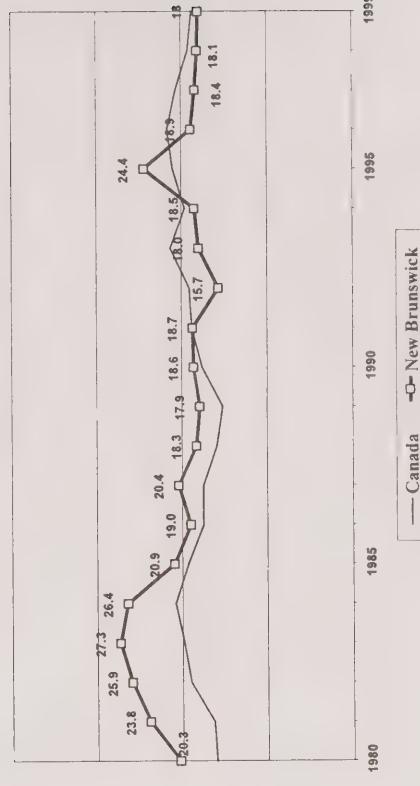
**Figure 8.8: Prince Edward Island
Percent of Children in Poverty**



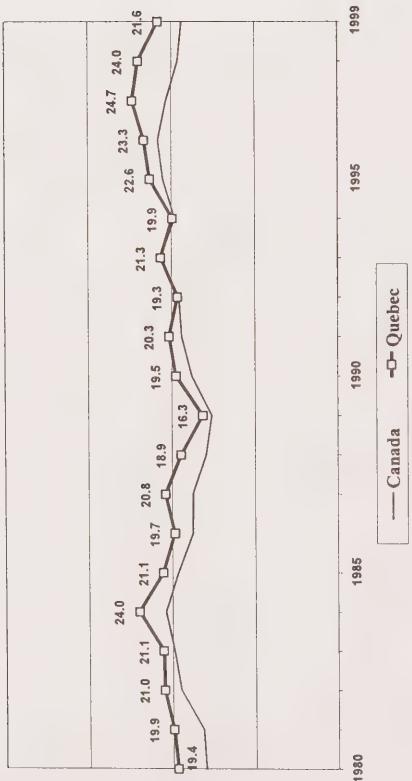
**Figure 8.9: Nova Scotia
Percent of Children in Poverty**



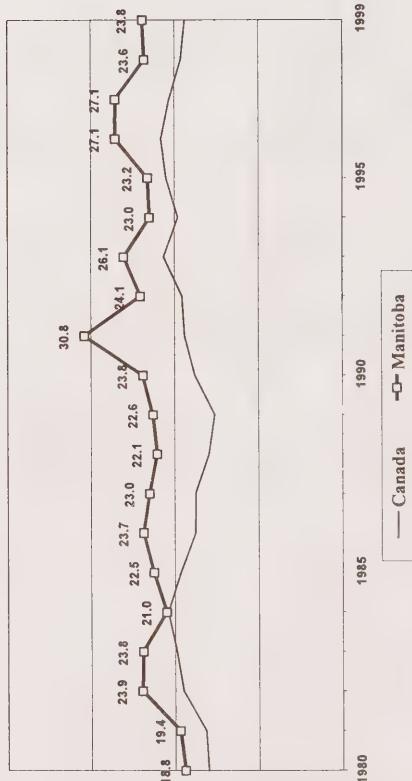
**Figure 8.10: New Brunswick
Percent of Children in Poverty**



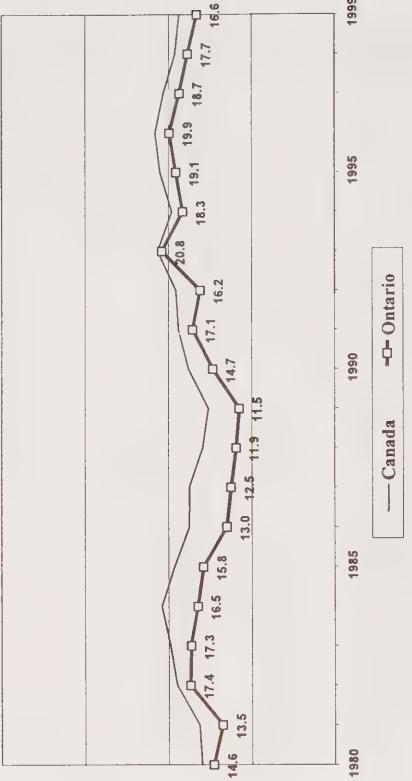
**Figure 8.11: Quebec
Percent of Children in Poverty**



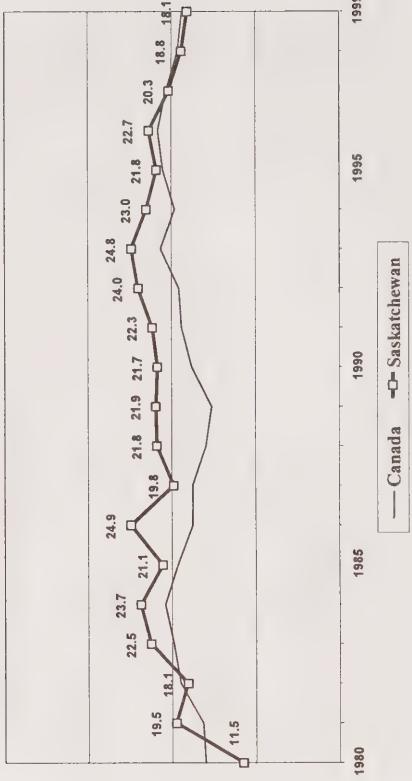
**Figure 8.13: Manitoba
Percent of Children in Poverty**



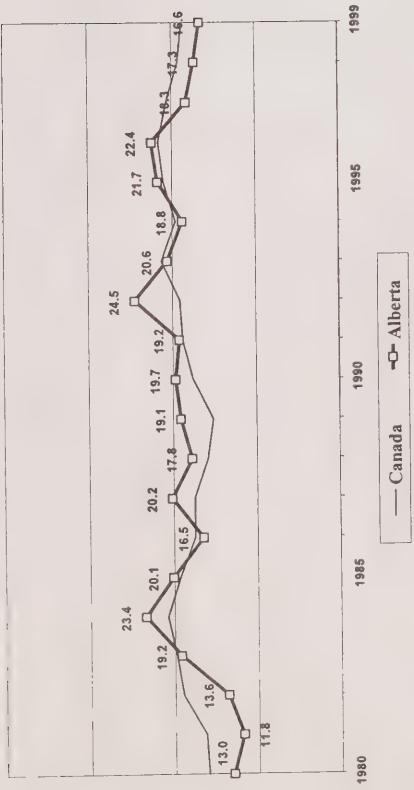
**Figure 8.12: Ontario
Percent of Children in Poverty**



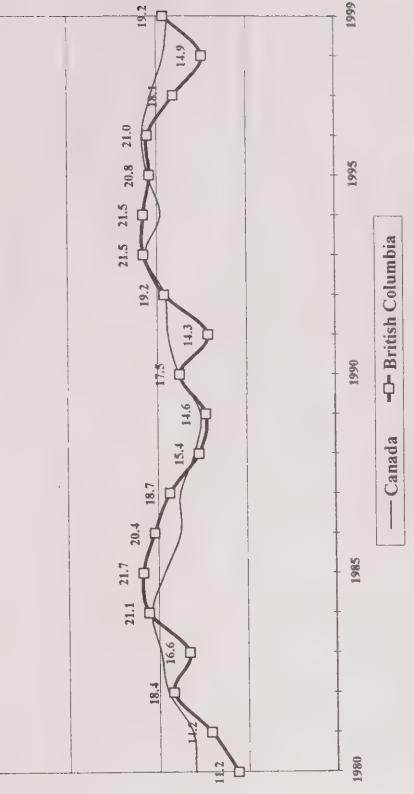
**Figure 8.14: Saskatchewan
Percent of Children in Poverty**



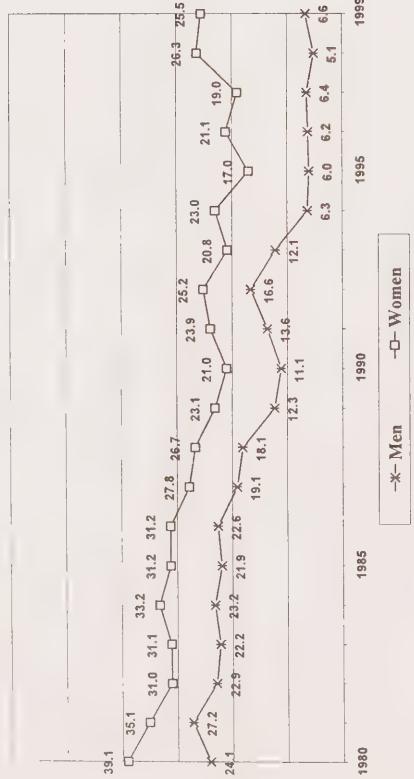
**Figure 8.15: Alberta
Percent of Children in Poverty**



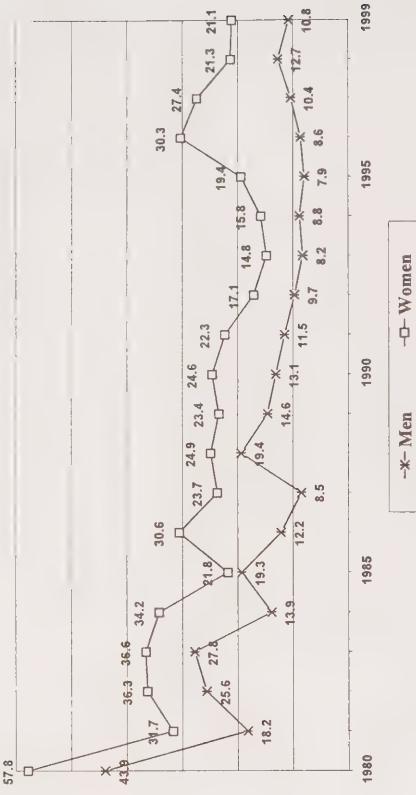
**Figure 8.16: British Columbia
Percent of Children in Poverty**



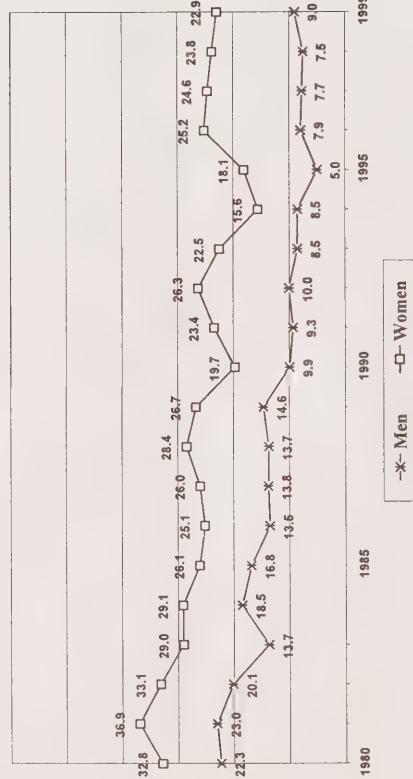
**Figure 8.17: Newfoundland and Labrador
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



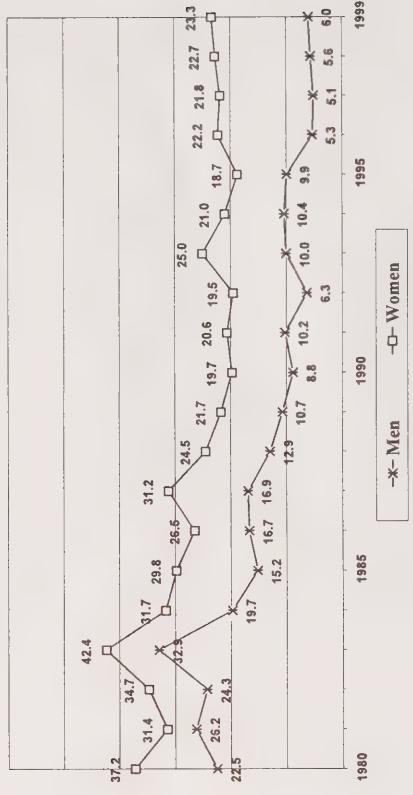
**Figure 8.18: Prince Edward Island
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



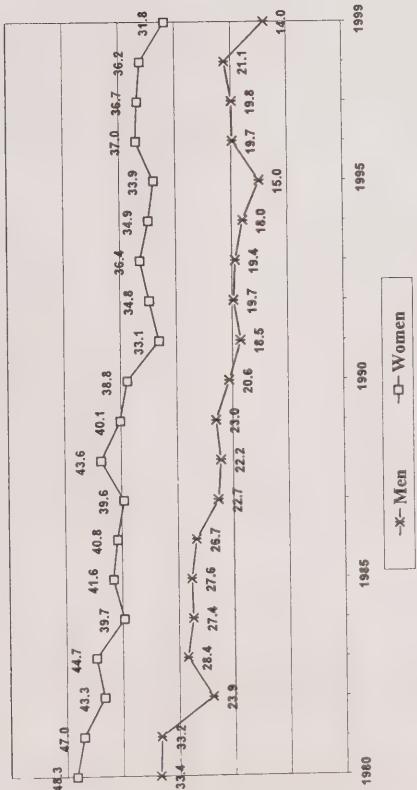
**Figure 8.19: Nova Scotia
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



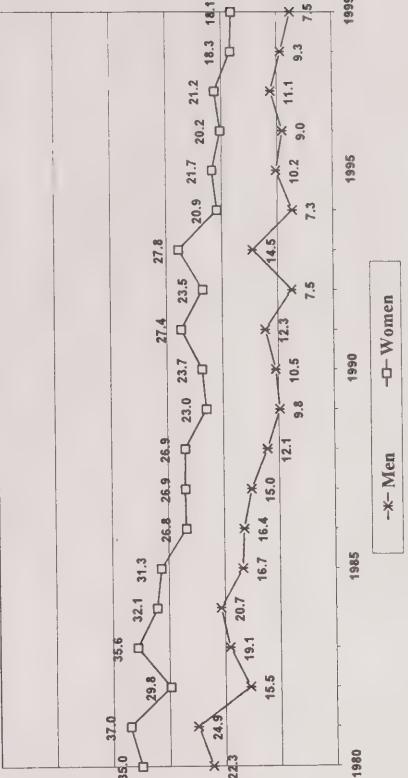
**Figure 8.20: New Brunswick
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



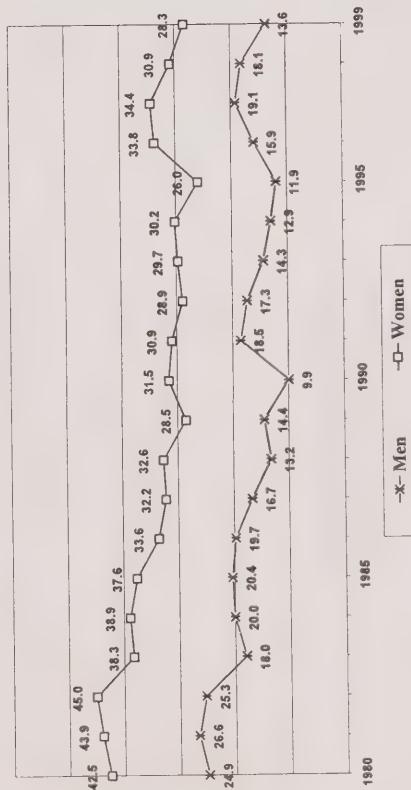
**Figure 8.21: Quebec
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



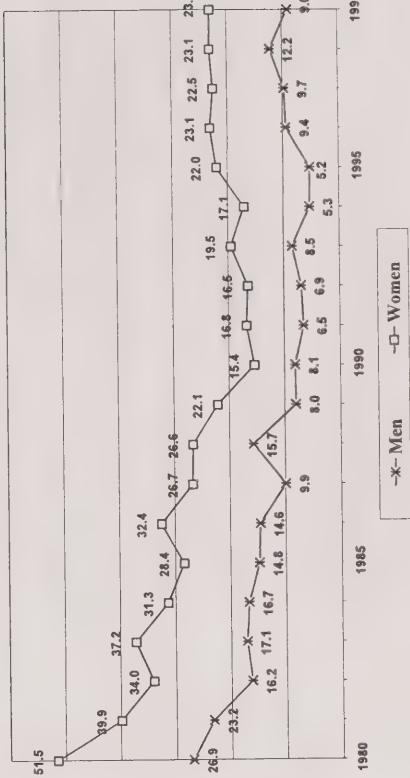
**Figure 8.22: Ontario
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



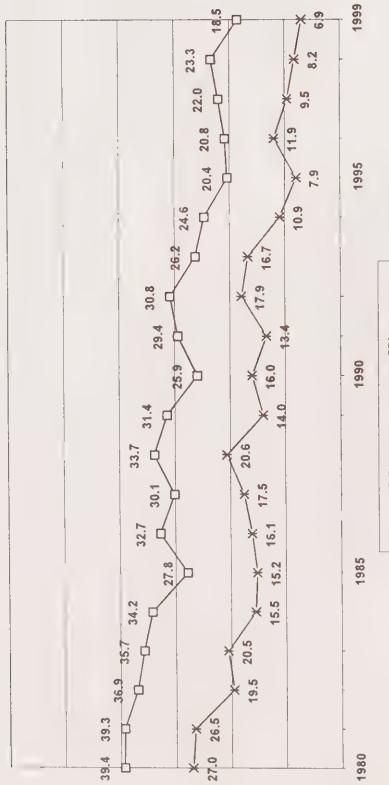
**Figure 8.23: Manitoba
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



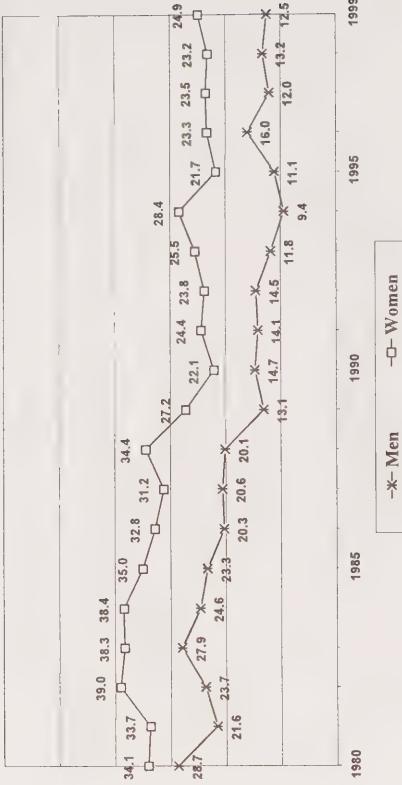
**Figure 8.24: Saskatchewan
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



**Figure 8.25: Alberta
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



**Figure 8.26: British Columbia
Percent of Seniors in Poverty**



IX. ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

The preceding chapters have provided a certain amount of data on some Aboriginal persons, those who live off-reserve, as they are included in the SLID data base that is used for Poverty Profile. They show the greater extent to which this population experiences poverty compared to the Canadian population as a whole. Understanding the reality of Aboriginal ways of life and poverty among Aboriginal peoples is a complex matter, however, and requires additional information.

This chapter fills in contextual information¹ to help improve public understanding of some of the issues facing Aboriginal people in Canada. It looks at several factors that may make Aboriginal individuals and families more vulnerable to poverty and explains some of the differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples that influence how information is gathered, used and interpreted². This, in turn, has implications for the way policies to improve economic and social well-being among Aboriginal peoples are designed and implemented.

Many regular and frequent surveys used to gather information on Canadians do not include the territories or on-reserve populations and they do not ask about ethnic or racial status. This kind of detailed information is available from the Census of Population but it is collected less frequently and takes longer to process.

Unless otherwise specified, the Aboriginal population described in this chapter is comprised of people who have self-identified in the 1996 Census of Population as Aboriginal, as well as those who did not identify themselves as an Aboriginal person but who are Registered Indian and/or First Nation (Band) members. Those who identified themselves as Aboriginal could specify whether they were North American Indian, Metis, Inuit or had Multiple Aboriginal identity.

IDENTITY, CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

The situation of Aboriginal peoples today has its roots in the history of European arrival in Canada and agreements that were, in theory, to allow peaceful settlement by non-native people while allowing native people to retain large tracts of land on which they could protect the Aboriginal way of life. There was, and continues to be, considerable diversity among Aboriginal peoples. In general, however, Aboriginal traditional approaches to individual and collective rights, to governance, to the relationship between people and the land, to each other

¹ Unless otherwise specified, the data used in this chapter are from the 1996 Census of Population and other Statistics Canada sources, including *Women in Canada 2000: a Gender-Based Statistical Report*.

² The National Council of Welfare is grateful to Dr. David Newhouse of Trent University for his assistance and insights in reviewing a draft of this chapter. Responsibility for the final content and any errors in presentation of the data, however, rests with the Council.

and to other generations are different than the approaches that have developed as the norm for most non-Aboriginal Canadians³.

In the ensuing legacy of colonialism, and controversies that continue to the present day, Canada's constitution of 1867 assigned the responsibility for Indians and lands reserved for Indians to the federal government.⁴ In 1876, the first Indian Act was created, based on the notion of wardship, where Indians were treated as minors who needed protection and education. The Act created a special status of person called an Indian and a Registry maintained by the federal government to keep track of them. It also established Indian reserves with a limited form of governance under federal stewardship and a regulatory regime that kept Indians out of the mainstream of many aspects of Canadian life. For example, Indians on-reserve are excluded from paying income tax, but until recently they were also excluded from Canada's major economic development and income security programs. Historically they were denied the ability to shape the policies that affected them. Even the most basic engagement in the political decisions of the country, the ability to vote, was granted only in 1960.

Aboriginal people who are not registered under the Act and/or who live off-reserve live under the same federal-provincial/territorial regimes as other Canadians. But these are regimes where policies and programs were not necessarily designed taking their particular needs and circumstances into account, including their experience of overt and systemic discrimination based on racial and ethnic origins.

The different categories of Aboriginal peoples have different relationships to the governing structures of Canada. These categories affect the ways in which individuals are identified and counted, especially for those who are registered under the Indian Act and described as Status Indians, or Registered Indians. In the past, women and men in this category were treated very differently. Status Indian women who married men outside this category lost their status and their First Nation (Band) membership. This meant they lost the ability to live in the communities in which they were raised and belonged, as well as any rights to land or services on-reserve for themselves or their children, even upon divorce. The opposite was true for Status Indian men whose non-status wives became Status Indians. In 1985 this was changed allowing many women and children to reclaim their status and, in some cases, band membership.

Metis on the other hand, are a population of mixed ancestry that grew from early intermarriage of Aboriginal and European people and over time developed a distinct cultural identity. Despite the key role of the Metis in the economic development of Canada, they have gained some degree of recognition and rights only recently, in the *Constitution Act* of 1982. Inuit have a particular identity that is closely intertwined with geography, having lived in the northernmost parts of Canada for thousands of years and having much in common with Inuit

³ For more extensive information on the history and perspectives of different Aboriginal peoples see, for example, the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, Volumes 1 to 5, Canada, Minister of Supply and Services (1996).

⁴ Section 91(24) of the British North America Act, 1867.

living in other circumpolar countries. Their mixed economy combines wage earning in balance with food and fur production and other land-based activities. In most northern areas they are majority of the population in contrast with the situation Aboriginal peoples in more southern parts of Canada. They have achieved much in the way of political institutions appropriate to their culture, especially with the creation of the new Nunavut territory in 1999, but the North itself has economic challenges and limited influence or power in the larger Canadian context.

The *Indian Act* is one of many factors that could influence how an Aboriginal individual might answer a Census question about identity and in fact from one count to another people do change the way they identify themselves. The intermingling of culture, constitution and legislation are factors that affect Aboriginal identities and cause them to change over time as individual circumstances change.

With regard to language, a little over 29 percent of the Aboriginal population of Canada was able to speak an Aboriginal language in 1996. The percentage is highest for Inuit at almost 73 percent compared to about 35 percent for North American Indians and just under 9 percent for Metis. Fewer Aboriginal persons, however, regularly spoke an Aboriginal language at home. Age makes a difference, with older people more likely to speak an Aboriginal language.

THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION, ON- AND OFF-RESERVE

The Aboriginal population in 1996 totalled 799,010, or about 3 percent of the Canadian population. Although the majority of Aboriginal persons do not live on-reserve, a significant proportion do. Aboriginal women were somewhat more likely to live off-reserve than men (72 percent compared to 69 percent) and men were more likely to live on-reserve (31 percent compared to 28 percent). The on-reserve population was almost all North American Indian and almost all Aboriginal persons (98 percent) who lived in reserve communities were registered under the *Indian Act*. It is important to note that an estimated 44,000 people lived in incompletely enumerated Indian reserves and settlements and thus were not counted in the above percentages.

Urban and rural living patterns for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal persons showed differences and similarities. Of all Aboriginal women 51.3 percent lived in off-reserve urban areas compared to 79.3 percent of non-Aboriginal women. Among Aboriginal men 47.5 percent lived in urban areas compared to 77.6 percent for non-Aboriginal men. The percentage of people living in non-reserve rural areas was similar for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women and men ranging at around 21 to 22 percent. Metis people were the most urbanized, Inuit the least and most Inuit lived in the north, particularly in the new territory of Nunavut, where the majority of the population is Aboriginal.

Aboriginal women (56.7 percent) were more likely than Aboriginal men (52.9 percent) and non-Aboriginal women and men (42.7 percent and 42.8 percent) to have moved in the five years before the 1996 Census.

FAMILY COMPOSITION

There are significant differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal populations that relate to family formation and fertility. The Aboriginal population, on average, is much younger. In 1996, there were fewer seniors and more children under 15. One reason is that fertility rates are much higher among Aboriginal women than other Canadian women. The 1996 Census data show Registered Indian women, for example, had a total fertility rate of 2.7 children compared to 1.6 for all Canadian women. And the next cohort of new Aboriginal parents was larger, with 18 percent of the female Aboriginal population in the 15-24 age group compared to 13 percent of non-Aboriginal women.

Again, however, it is important to put this in historical perspective, and not jump to any conclusions that Aboriginal families and individuals might be better off if their fertility patterns were closer to the Canadian average. For example, European diseases decimated much of the early Aboriginal population base and government policies in later years separated children from their parents and broke down family and community ties. The ability to have and raise children, therefore, has a different meaning than it does for most non-Aboriginal people in Canada.

Because there is usually a large gender dimension to poverty, the family status of women can be a key factor in well-being. There are some important differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal women. For example in 1996, 32 percent of Aboriginal women were in a husband-wife family compared to 50 percent of non-Aboriginal women. Aboriginal women were over twice as likely to live in a common-law relationship (17 percent compared to 8 percent) and to be lone-parents (18 percent compared to 8 percent). Lone-parent families headed by Aboriginal women tended to be larger, as well, with an average of 2.3 children compared to 1.8 for other female-headed lone-parent families. Aboriginal women were less likely to live alone and more likely to live with members of their extended families than their non-Aboriginal counterparts.

HEALTH

Health is an important factor that can affect the income of individuals and their families and can be both a cause and consequence of poverty. There are a number of illnesses that affect Aboriginal peoples to a much greater extent than those in the non-Aboriginal population, including diabetes, heart problems, tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. Substantial proportions of Aboriginal persons, especially Aboriginal women, report that their health is only fair or poor. Life expectancy for Aboriginal people is below that for non-Aboriginal people, although the gap has narrowed a great deal in the last 20 years. In both populations, women tend to outlive men.

Suicide rates are also very much higher for Aboriginal than non-Aboriginal populations, especially for young Aboriginal men. For example, from 1989 to 1993, the suicide rate per 100,000 population in the 15-24 year age group was 126 for Registered Indian men compared

to 35 for Registered Indian women, while the corresponding Canadian averages were 24 for men and 5 for women.⁵

JUSTICE

Another area where there are large differences between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people is in their interaction with the criminal justice system. Aboriginal people are often the victims of racially-based violence, compounded for women by high rates of domestic and other forms of gender-based violence. Aboriginal people are also far more likely to be incarcerated than other Canadians and there is evidence that racism and poverty-related factors play a large role in this phenomenon.⁶

EDUCATION

There is a clear relationship between education and employment that impacts on vulnerability to poverty. For example, the unemployment rate for young Aboriginal adults without high school was 40 percent in 1996, compared to 9 percent for those with a university degree. In the past decade Aboriginal people have made some notable gains in education. For example, the percentage of Registered Indians with some post-secondary education rose by 5.5 percentage points between 1991 and 1996 compared to an increase of 3.8 percentage points for the total Canadian population⁷. However, Aboriginal people are still well below their non-Aboriginal counterparts in educational attainment.

Between 1986 and 1996, young Aboriginal adults aged 20 to 29 improved their qualifications at every level. The proportion of young women and men (including those still in school) with less than high school dropped while the share that completed college increased from 15 percent to 20 percent and the share that completed university doubled from 2 to 4 percent. There is still a ways to go to reach the levels of the non-Aboriginal population, however. For those 20-29 who are no longer attending school, fully 51 percent of young Aboriginal adults had less than secondary education compared to 23 percent for other Canadians. About 18 percent of young Aboriginal adults had completed college (29 percent for non-Aboriginal youth) and 3 percent had completed university (15 percent for non-Aboriginal youth).

According to the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey question asking why young adults did not complete their post-secondary studies, the primary reasons cited were family issues for

⁵ Health Canada, Health Programs Analysis, First Nations and Inuit Health Programs.

⁶ See *Justice and the Poor*, National Council of Welfare (Spring 2000) for a detailed discussion of the ways in which social status and race make a difference in the way suspects are dealt with all the way through the criminal justice system process.

⁷ *Comparison of Social Conditions, 1991 and 1996: Registered Indians, Registered Indians Living On Reserve and the Total Population of Canada*, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, PWGSC (Ottawa, 2000).

women (25 percent) and money issues for men (18 percent). On the positive side, Aboriginal people were more likely than other Canadians to return to school at older ages.⁸ This was particularly true for women. In the 25-34 year age range, for example, 20.5 percent of Aboriginal women were attending school in 1996 compared to 13.5 percent of their male counterparts, and 16.9 percent and 15.2 percent of non-Aboriginal women and men respectively.⁹ Lone-parent mothers also attended school more frequently than one might expect from their challenging family circumstances. Some 30 percent of Aboriginal lone mothers and 20 percent of mothers in two-parent families were attending school in 1996 and most of these young mothers had an incomplete post-secondary education.

With regard to how post-secondary education is financed, there are differences among Aboriginal students. Registered Indian and Inuit students are eligible for federal grants from a post-secondary student support program. Support for Status Indian students comes from Indian and Northern Affairs Canada and it is now administered by First Nations but the adequacy of benefits has been questioned. Many of these students are using the provincial loan programs designed with a middle-class assumption that parents are able to contribute to their children's education, and are graduating with high debt loads. Other Aboriginal students would access the same federal and provincial student loan programs as non-Aboriginal students, and they too face the heavy burden of debt that accompanies graduation for many low-income students.

A variety of historical, economic, social and geographical factors affect education for Aboriginal people. For example, for people living in rural, remote and Northern communities, access to educational institutions is a difficulty, especially at higher levels. Students must travel great distances and deal with unfamiliar social and cultural environments that can be alienating and discouraging. The negative intergenerational effects of earlier residential school experiences are felt very strongly by many Aboriginal people. The family separation, loss of cultural ties and abuse that Aboriginal children and their families faced in the name of education continue to present a serious barrier to the pursuit of formal education. Increasing education over the 1986 to 96 decade, however, is likely to have positive intergenerational effects as this better educated group of adults also means there are more role models for Aboriginal children and youth.

WORK, EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

Aboriginal people have tended to be less likely than their non-Aboriginal counterparts to be part of the paid workforce. When looking at employment, unemployment and income, however, it is important to recognize that for some Aboriginal people, especially those living on-reserve and in the North, there may be a great deal of work done that is unpaid. Their complex realities can often include large amounts of time spent fishing, trapping, hunting,

⁸ Tate, Heather, "Educational Achievement of Young Aboriginal Adults", *Canadian Social Trends*, Statistics Canada (Spring 1999, No.52).

⁹ *Women in Canada 2000* (p. 256).

sewing and caring for children and other family and friends. Another dimension that affects earnings and income comparisons is that Aboriginal people on-reserve do not pay income tax but they also have not had the same opportunities to build up public pension credits.

In 1996, for people aged 15 and older, 41 percent of Aboriginal women and 48 percent of Aboriginal men were employed, compared to 53.1 percent of non-Aboriginal women and 65.6 percent of non-Aboriginal men. The highest employment rates were for the population aged 25-44, where the figures for Aboriginal women and men were 50.7 percent and 59.8 percent respectively and 71.8 percent and 83.5 percent for non-Aboriginal women and men. In the category of seniors aged 65 and over, Aboriginal women had a higher employment rate than their non-Aboriginal counterparts at 5.4 percent compared to 4.3 percent. The rates for senior men were quite close compared to men in other age groups.

Unemployment rates for Aboriginal people, at 21.1 percent for women and 26.5 percent for men, were very high compared to non-Aboriginal rates of 9.7 percent for women and 9.9 percent for men.

For Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people alike, the major share of their personal income is from wages and salaries. For Aboriginal women and men, wages and salaries represented 61.6 percent and 71.4 percent of their income respectively in 1995, similar to non-Aboriginal figures of 66.6 percent and 71.8 percent. Government transfer payments were the second major source of income for both Aboriginal and other Canadians, but they represented a higher share for Aboriginal persons. Other Canadians had comparatively more self-employment, investment and other sources of income. Average total income for that year for Aboriginal people was \$13,305 for women and \$18,221 for men. For non-Aboriginal people it was \$19,348 for women and \$31,404 for men.

As mentioned above, family status is an important variable affecting socio-economic status. Among all Aboriginal identity groups, average incomes of female lone-parent families were about one-half to one-third those of husband-wife families. These female-headed families had an average annual income of less than \$16,000 compared to an average of about \$22,000 among other Canadian families headed by lone mothers. The amounts were higher but the gap was wider for lone fathers, with Aboriginal lone-father families averaging \$21,000 in income and their counterparts among other Canadians averaging about \$35,000.¹⁰

In addition to wage and income gaps between Aboriginal people and other Canadians there is also evidence from a study of 1991 data¹¹ of even wider gaps among and within Aboriginal peoples. Overall, Metis had significantly better wages than North American Indians on-reserve for comparable work. And there was greater inequality and polarization of wage distribution among the Inuit than for other Aboriginal peoples.

¹⁰ Hull, Jeremy, *Aboriginal Single Mothers in Canada, 1996: A Statistical Profile*, Research and Analysis Directorate, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Ottawa (2001, p. 88).

¹¹ Bernier, Rachel, *The Dimensions of Wage Inequality among Aboriginal Peoples*, No. 109, Analytical Studies Branch – Research Paper Series, Statistics Canada (December, 1997).

POVERTY

As education, employment and income figures would suggest, the incidence of poverty among Aboriginal people is very high. Using Statistics Canada's Low Income Cut-offs (which exclude people living on-reserve or in the territories), the poverty rate in 1995 for Aboriginal people 15 and over was 42.7 percent for women and 35.1 percent for men, over double the rates for other Canadian women and men. The comparable poverty rate for Aboriginal children under age 15 was 59 percent compared to 25 percent for other children.

The poverty rates for Aboriginal people would be even higher if reserve populations were included in the calculations. In 1996, the majority of Registered Indians lived in about 900 small First Nations communities. According to a Statistics Canada study that mapped the conditions of these communities, nearly all had a lower standard of well-being compared to the average Canadian community. Among Aboriginal communities, there were socio-economic differences as measured by schooling, employment, income and housing, including significant differences even among First Nations communities very close to each other geographically. About 23 percent of the Registered Indian population lived in above average First Nations communities, 47 percent in average ones and 32 percent in below average ones. Those communities considered below average had high levels of crowding and low levels of schooling, employment, and income. Location near urban centres or resource rich areas seemed to improve well-being but not in all cases. There were complex social, economic, cultural and geographical patterns that affected the status of the various Aboriginal communities.¹²

Female-headed lone parent families are at high risk of poverty in Canada as a whole and a study commissioned by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada indicates this is particularly true of the Aboriginal population as well. For example, in 1995, 49 percent of non-Aboriginal Canadian lone mothers identified government transfer payments (e.g., employment insurance, social assistance and child benefits) as their major source of income. The comparable figures for Aboriginal lone mothers were 72 percent for Registered Indians, 71 percent for Non-status Indians, 64 percent for Metis and 59 percent for Inuit. Dependency on transfer payments was more pronounced for Aboriginal lone mothers who lived in off-reserve urban locations.¹³

Depth of poverty is a critical issue for Aboriginal people. One indicator of depth of poverty is the proportion of the population that receives social assistance. As the National Council of Welfare's regular *Welfare Incomes* reports show, social assistance rates across the country can fall thousands of dollars short of the LICOs. And there are high rates of dependency on social assistance among Aboriginal people, especially on-reserve.

The most recent data from Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, indicate that nationally beneficiaries of social assistance comprised 35.8 percent of the on-reserve population in

¹² Armstrong, Robin, "Mapping the Conditions of First Nations Communities", *Canadian Social Trends*, Statistics Canada (Winter 1999, No.55).

¹³ *Aboriginal Single Mothers* (p.87).

2000-01. This rate reflects a steady decline since 1994-95 when it was about 43 percent. The average number of monthly social assistance beneficiaries (adults and their dependants and singles), however, increased throughout the 1990s, peaking in 1997-98.¹⁴ Despite improvement overall in the national situation, there is considerable variation of rates and patterns across the country.

Recent social assistance information for other Aboriginal families and individuals is not available. A 1995 study found that 28.6 percent of respondents to the 1991 Aboriginal Peoples Survey reported receiving social assistance, over three times the rate of the population in general. The rates went from a high of over 40 percent for reserve populations to rates in the low 20 percent range for off-reserve Indians, Metis and Inuit.¹⁵

The information provided in this chapter shows that Aboriginal peoples generally occupy the lowest rungs of economic and social indicators in Canada. There is some evidence that this situation is starting to change but poverty and all of its manifestations remain the most common life experience of Aboriginal peoples. Making further progress requires examining and dealing with the historical actions and events that have led to this situation and the contemporary governance aspirations of Aboriginal peoples that are at the centre of future development.

¹⁴ *Basic Departmental Data 2000*, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Ottawa (2001).

¹⁵ Figures taken from "Aboriginal Social Assistance Expenditures" by Moscovitch, Allan and Webster, Andrew, in *How Ottawa Spends 1995-96: Mid-Life Crises*; edited by Phillips, Susan D. (Carleton University Press, Inc., 1995). This article provides information on the history and implications of the design, financing and administration of social assistance provision to Aboriginal peoples and how the system for Registered Indians developed differently than the emerging welfare state system that applied to other Canadians.

CONCLUSION

The National Council of Welfare is encouraged that, for most Canadian individuals and families, poverty rates continued the downward trend in 1998 through into 1999. But given eight consecutive years of economic growth and a very impressive growth rate of nearly 5 percent in 1999, it is clear that the wave of economic prosperity continued to fail the poor. We are convinced that Canadian governments could have done more to prevent many individuals and families from falling into poverty. And they must do much more for those who experience a long duration of poverty. It is truly alarming that between 1993 and 1998, pre-school children were the Canadians most likely to have lived in poverty for all six years.

We were dismayed to see a rise in the poverty rate for senior women when the rate for seniors generally was at an all-time low. We were also discouraged that, despite a small improvement, the 16 percent of Canadian families headed by single parents were still raising about 42 percent of Canada's poor children. This is an untenable situation in a prosperous country like ours. For Aboriginal peoples in Canada, the situation is also one of small improvements in the face of great and pressing need.

This report showed again that having a job, even a full-time one, is no guarantee against poverty. And the people who contribute in other meaningful ways to our society and economy, by improving their education as students or by providing care for children and other dependants, faced the penalty of high risk of poverty. Canadians whose contributions were affected by disabilities or poor health faced a similar risk. In 1999, 40 percent of people with long-term illness and more than half of single-parent mothers were poor.

Poverty Profile 1999 has provided new insights into who is most susceptible to extreme depth of poverty or poverty that persists for many years. It has also helped improve our understanding of the impact of taxes as well as transfers on poverty. The Council hopes that this information can be used to design more efficient and effective policies.

Governments in Canada have the tools to fight poverty. We have the commitments, starting with our Charter of Rights and Freedoms. And we value our good reputation, although compared to other countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, there are signs that complacency may be causing us to fall behind the progress of others. We also have experience, having all but wiped out poverty among seniors. As well we can benefit from others' experience, such as the European countries where poverty rates among single-parents and people with disabilities are far better than ours, even as low as single digits.

The National Council of Welfare also believes that Canadian governments have adequate resources at their disposal to fight poverty. That we can and must do so is far from an idle dream. The cost of poverty is one that all Canadians pay.

Poverty is a reflection of political choices. We can always steer a better course.

APPENDIX A. METHODOLOGY AND DEFINITIONS

From 1965 to 1995, Statistics Canada used a household survey known as the Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF) to obtain information on the distribution of income and the nature and extent of low-income in private households in Canada. In 1993, Statistics Canada introduced a new survey, the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID), with much the same objectives but using a different approach. While SCF took a snapshot of the lives of people at a particular point in time, SLID follows people for six years to see how their circumstances change over time. Starting with the 1996 reference year, SLID replaced SCF as the source of annual income estimates.

Poverty statistics in *Poverty Profile 1999* differ slightly from previous years due to adjustments made in the sources of data as well as the addition of new information. This section describes these changes. The revisions have very little effect on rates or patterns of poverty, but they tend to add slightly to the number of people living in poverty.

Statistics Canada revised its low income data for the period 1980 through 1993 in the 1994 version of *Income Distributions by Size in Canada, 1992*. The revisions included shifting population estimates to the 1991 census base, adjusting the estimates to correct under coverage, and including non-permanent residents physically present in Canada. Previously, the National Council of Welfare included only some re-weighted data. For *Poverty Profile 1999*, the NCW has used Statistics Canada's revised data for all years.

Poverty Profile 1999 is based on data from both SLID and SCF. Yearly data for 1996 to 1999, are taken from SLID while data for earlier years from 1980 to 1995 are from SCF. The long-term data from 1993 to 1998 were derived from SLID. The 1999 SLID was conducted in January and May of 1999 and sampled roughly 30,000 private households from all parts of the country except for Yukon, the Northwest Territories, Indian reserves, and institutions such as prisons, mental hospitals, and homes for the elderly. The survey looked at incomes for the 1999 calendar year. Close to three-quarters of SLID respondents gave their consent to the use of their TI tax information to provide income data.

The 1999 SLID results were published by Statistics Canada under the title *Income in Canada, 1999*. Statistics Canada also provided custom tabulations to the National Council of Welfare¹. We are grateful for the assistance provided by officials of the agency, especially Philip Giles, Pina La Novara, Cathy Oikawa and Yvette Cabana of the Income Statistics

¹ "Readers may notice that some numbers in this publication differ from those published by Statistics Canada. This is due to certain changes made by Statistics Canada to their historical database. While the exact numbers may differ, none of these differences significantly affects the analysis and interpretation of the data contained in this report. Readers may also be interested in knowing that Statistics Canada is currently revising its historical survey weights for the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) and the Survey of Consumer Finances (SCF) to move from population estimates based on the 1991 Census to those based on the 1996 Census. With the release of the household income data for reference year 2000, all survey estimates will change."

Division. We also appreciate the technical assistance of consultant Olusola Womiloju. The analysis and interpretation of the data, however, is the responsibility of the National Council of Welfare.

Information about poverty is obtained by comparing the survey data with Statistics Canada's low income cut-offs. The LICOs represent levels of gross income where people spend disproportionate amounts of money for food, shelter and clothing. Statistics Canada has decided over the years - somewhat arbitrarily - that 20 percentage points is a reasonable measure of the additional burden. The average Canadian family spent 34.7 percent of gross income on food, shelter and clothing according to 1992 data on spending patterns, so it was assumed that low-income Canadians spent 54.7 percent or more on the necessities of life.

The low income cut-offs vary by the size of the family unit and the population of the area of residence. There are seven categories of family size, from one person to seven or more persons, and five community sizes ranging from rural areas to cities with 500,000 or more residents. The result is a set of 35 cut-offs. The cut-offs are updated annually by Statistics Canada using the Consumer Price Index.

The cut-offs used in this report are technically known as 1992 base LICOs, because of the year in which spending on food, shelter and clothing was surveyed. Previously, the NCW had used the earlier 1986 base. The pre-tax set of 35 cut-offs for 1999 and the National Council of Welfare's estimates of the cut-offs for 2000 and 2001 appear in Appendix B. The corresponding post-tax low income cut-offs for 1999 and the National Council of Welfare's estimates for 2000 and 2001 are listed in Appendix C.

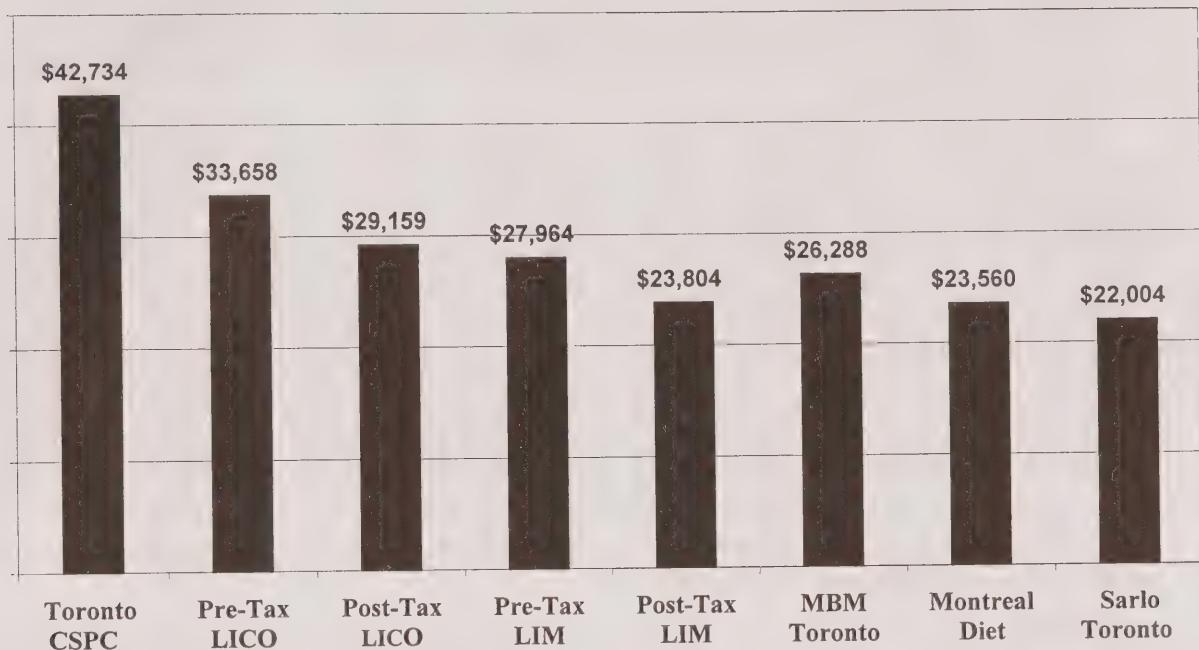
The National Council of Welfare and many other social policy groups regard the LICOs as poverty lines and use the terms poor and low-income interchangeably. Statistics Canada takes pains to avoid references to poverty. It says the cut-offs have no official status, and it does not promote their use as poverty lines.

Regardless of the terminology, the cut-offs are a useful tool for defining and analyzing the significantly large portion of the Canadian population with low incomes. They are not the only measures of poverty used in Canada, but they are the most widely accepted and are roughly comparable to most alternative measures.

Figure A.1 shows eight alternative measures of poverty, two versions of the low-income cut-offs of Statistics Canada (1992 base) and six other lines sometimes seen in other published reports on poverty.² Depending on the levels of analysis chosen (municipal, provincial, national or international), these poverty lines may vary.

² Some of the information for Figure A.1 comes from Ross, David P.; Shillington, E. Richard and Lochhead, Clarence, *The Canadian Fact Book on Poverty – 1994* (Chapter 2), Canadian Council on Social Development and Sarlo, Christopher A., *Poverty in Canada 1996*, Fraser Institute.

Figure A.1: Poverty Lines for a Family of Four Living in a Large City, 1999



The first bar in Figure A.1, Toronto CSPC, refers to the budget guides of the Community Social Planning Council of Toronto, formerly the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. The original calculation was updated to 1999 by the National Council of Welfare using the Consumer Price Index and custom tabulations supplied by Statistics Canada.

The next two bars represent two different versions of the low income cut-offs of Statistics Canada. The pre-tax LICO is based on total income including government transfers, but before the deduction of federal, provincial or territorial income taxes. The post-tax LICO is based on after-tax income, that is, total income including government transfers less federal, provincial or territorial income taxes.

Pre-tax LIM and LIM post-tax refer to the low income measures of Statistics Canada, measures which are both based on one-half of median family income. LIMs vary with family size and composition, but they are the same in all parts of the country. They do not reflect the reality of higher costs of living in large cities and lower costs of living in rural areas. The LIMs are the only lines in Figure A.1 that do not vary from place to place in Canada.

One-half of median family income adjusted for family size is the approach most often used in international comparisons of poverty. LIMs and similar measures provide interesting

comparisons at a given point in time, but they tend to be “flat” over time and do not track well against the ups and downs of the economic cycle.

MBM Toronto stands for the market basket measures being developed by Human Resources Development Canada for the federal, provincial and territorial governments. The MBMs are based on the cost of buying a basket of goods and services in the local marketplace. The bar in Figure A.1 is for a family living in Toronto. The National Council of Welfare updated the figure to 1999, but the update does not reflect changes in methodology that were made after 1996.

At a theoretical level, MBMs are being designed to be sensitive to differences in costs of living, particularly rents in different parts of the country. They include the costs of eating a nutritious diet, buying clothing for work and social occasions, adequate shelter at median local cost, payment of personal costs such as personal care, household needs, furniture, telephone service, public transportation, reading, recreation, entertainment and school supplies. Unlike LICOs which are calculated nationally and are adjusted by family type and community size, MBMs are to be calculated provincially and are to be adjusted by family type and community size. For example, for families with children, it is envisaged that MBMs will include the child care costs incurred to enable family members to work for pay and child support payments made by non-custodial parents. MBMs will also adjust for income taxes and payroll taxes paid by members of the household, and actual out-of-pocket expenses for medically prescribed expenditures for dental and vision care, prescription drugs and prescribed aids for persons with disabilities.³

Montreal Diet refers to the income needed for a minimum adequate standard of living for a two-earner couple with a 15-year-old son and a ten-year-old daughter in Montreal as calculated by the Montreal Diet Dispensary and updated by the National Council of Welfare. The group also has basic needs guidelines strictly intended for short-term assistance that are somewhat lower.

Sarlo Toronto is the poverty line for Toronto calculated by Christopher A. Sarlo and updated to 1999 by the National Council of Welfare. Professor Sarlo also has “social comfort lines” that are twice as high as his poverty lines.

Poverty statistics are often broken down according to families and unattached individuals. The surveys that gathered the data used in this report defined a family as a group of individuals sharing a common dwelling unit and related by blood, marriage or adoption. The definition includes couples living in common-law relationships. Most of the data in this report are expressed in terms of families rather than the number of people in family units. Unattached individuals are defined as people living alone or in households where they are not related to other household members.

Researchers use poverty lines to differentiate unattached individuals and families living in poverty from the rest of a given population. A poor or low-income family has an income

³ Zeesman, Allen; Hatfield, Michael and Gascon, Stéphane, *The Market Basket Measure—Constructing a New Measure of Poverty*, Human Resources Development Canada, Applied Research Bulletin (Volume 4, No 2).

below the poverty line, while a “non-poor” family has an income above the poverty line. The same applies for unattached individuals.

Poverty rates compare the number of poor persons, families or unattached individuals in a particular category to all the persons, families or unattached individuals in the same category. For example, the estimated total number of families with children under 18 headed by a female single parent under 65 was 570,000 in 1999. Out of all of these female-headed single-parent families, an estimated 295,000 were living in poverty. The poverty rate was 295,000 divided by 570,000 or 51.8 percent. Sometimes, the terms “incidence of poverty” or “risk of poverty” are used instead of the poverty rate. All three terms have the same meaning.

Income refers to money income reported by all family members 16 years or older. Income includes gross wages and salaries, net income from self-employment, investment income, government transfer payments (Employment Insurance, Old Age Security, Canada and Quebec Pension Plans, Guaranteed Income Supplements, Spouse’s Allowance, Child Tax Benefit, other child credits or allowances, welfare from provincial and municipal programs, workers’ compensation benefits, GST/HST credits, provincial and territorial tax credits and any other government transfers), pensions, and miscellaneous income (scholarships and child support payments, for example). Some sections of this report refer to earnings rather than income. Earnings means gross wages and salaries and net income from self-employment.

APPENDIX B: LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS (PRE-TAX)

STATISTICS CANADA'S PRE-TAX LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS FOR 1999					
Family Size	Community Size				
	Cities of 500,000+	100,000 to 499,999	30,000 to 99,999	Less than 30,000	Rural Areas
1	\$17,886	\$15,341	\$15,235	\$14,176	\$12,361
2	\$22,357	\$19,176	\$19,044	\$17,720	\$15,450
3	\$27,805	\$23,849	\$23,683	\$22,037	\$19,216
4	\$33,658	\$28,869	\$28,669	\$26,677	\$23,260
5	\$37,624	\$32,272	\$32,047	\$29,820	\$26,002
6	\$41,590	\$35,674	\$35,425	\$32,962	\$28,743
7 or more	\$45,556	\$39,076	\$38,803	\$36,105	\$31,485

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE'S ESTIMATES OF STATISTICS CANADA'S PRE-TAX LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS FOR 2000*					
Family Size	Community Size				
	Cities of 500,000+	100,000 to 499,999	30,000 to 99,999	Less than 30,000	Rural Areas
1	\$18,371	\$15,757	\$15,648	\$14,561	\$12,696
2	\$22,964	\$19,697	\$19,561	\$18,201	\$15,870
3	\$28,560	\$24,497	\$24,326	\$22,635	\$19,738
4	\$34,572	\$29,653	\$29,448	\$27,401	\$23,892
5	\$38,646	\$33,148	\$32,917	\$30,629	\$26,708
6	\$42,719	\$36,642	\$36,387	\$33,857	\$29,524
7 or more	\$46,793	\$40,137	\$39,857	\$37,085	\$32,340

* Based on 2.7 percent inflation in 2000.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE'S ESTIMATES OF STATISTICS CANADA'S PRE-TAX LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS FOR 2001*					
Family Size	Community Size				
	Cities of 500,000+	100,000 to 499,999	30,000 to 99,999	Less than 30,000	Rural Areas
1	\$18,849	\$16,167	\$16,055	\$14,940	\$13,026
2	\$23,561	\$20,209	\$20,070	\$18,674	\$16,283
3	\$29,303	\$25,134	\$24,958	\$23,224	\$20,251
4	\$35,471	\$30,424	\$30,214	\$28,113	\$24,513
5	\$39,651	\$34,010	\$33,773	\$31,425	\$27,402
6	\$43,830	\$37,595	\$37,333	\$34,737	\$30,292
7 or more	\$48,010	\$41,181	\$40,893	\$38,049	\$33,181

*Based on an estimate of 2.6 percent inflation in 2001.

APPENDIX C: LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS (POST-TAX)

STATISTICS CANADA'S POST-TAX LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS FOR 1999

Family Size	Community Size				
	Cities of 500,000+	100,000 to 499,999	30,000 to 99,999	Less than 30,000	Rural Areas
1	\$14,771	\$12,442	\$12,250	\$11,194	\$9,684
2	\$18,024	\$15,182	\$14,947	\$13,659	\$11,817
3	\$22,796	\$19,202	\$18,905	\$17,276	\$14,946
4	\$28,392	\$23,916	\$23,546	\$21,517	\$18,615
5	\$31,733	\$26,730	\$26,317	\$24,048	\$20,806
6	\$35,075	\$29,544	\$29,087	\$26,580	\$22,997
7 or more	\$38,416	\$32,359	\$31,857	\$29,111	\$25,188

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE'S ESTIMATES OF STATISTICS CANADA'S POST-TAX LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS FOR 2000*

Family Size	Community Size				
	Cities of 500,000+	100,000 to 499,999	30,000 to 99,999	Less than 30,000	Rural Areas
1	\$15,167	\$12,778	\$12,588	\$11,496	\$9,945
2	\$18,511	\$15,592	\$15,351	\$14,028	\$12,136
3	\$23,411	\$19,720	\$19,415	\$17,742	\$15,350
4	\$29,159	\$24,562	\$24,182	\$22,098	\$19,118
5	\$32,590	\$27,452	\$27,028	\$24,697	\$21,368
6	\$36,022	\$30,342	\$29,872	\$27,298	\$23,618
7 or more	\$39,453	\$33,233	\$32,717	\$29,897	\$25,868

*Based on an estimated inflation rate of 2.7 percent in 2000.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE'S ESTIMATES OF STATISTICS CANADA'S POST-TAX LOW INCOME CUT-OFFS FOR 2001*

Family Size	Community Size				
	Cities of 500,000+	100,000 to 499,999	30,000 to 99,999	Less than 30,000	Rural Areas
1	\$15,569	\$13,114	\$12,911	\$11,798	\$10,207
2	\$18,997	\$16,002	\$15,754	\$14,397	\$12,455
3	\$24,027	\$20,239	\$19,926	\$18,209	\$15,753
4	\$29,925	\$25,208	\$24,817	\$22,679	\$19,620
5	\$33,447	\$28,174	\$27,738	\$25,347	\$21,930
6	\$36,969	\$31,139	\$30,658	\$28,015	\$24,239
7 or more	\$40,490	\$34,106	\$33,577	\$30,683	\$26,548

*Based on an estimated inflation rate of 2.6 percent in 2001.

APPENDIX D: POVERTY RATES BY REGION

POVERTY RATES BY REGION, COUPLES UNDER 65, 1999								
PROVINCE	Couples with Children				Couples without Children			
	Pre-Tax		Post-Tax		Pre Tax		Post-Tax	
	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)
Atlantic	25,000	10.5%	18,000	7.3%	16,000	10.0%	11,000	10.0%
Quebec	91,000	12.8%	64,000	9.0%	53,000	11.2%	38,000	8.0%
Ontario	112,000	9.3%	72,000	6.0%	43,000	6.4%	32,000	4.6%
West	94,000	10.2%	70,000	7.6%	53,000	8.9%	37,000	8.9%
Canada	321,000	10.5%	22,400	7.3%	165,000	8.6%	117,000	6.1%

POVERTY RATES BY REGION, UNATTACHED INDIVIDUALS UNDER 65, 1999								
PROVINCE	Unattached Women				Unattached Men			
	Pre-Tax		Post-Tax		Pre Tax		Post-Tax	
	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)	Number	Poverty Rate (%)
Atlantic	42,000	49.7%	35,000	42.4%	46,000	39.3%	40,000	33.9%
Quebec	174,000	46.2%	166,000	44.1%	174,000	34.4%	162,000	32.2%
Ontario	164,000	36.5%	143,000	31.8%	189,000	32.7%	162,000	28.0%
West	168,000	43.7%	145,000	37.7%	192,000	31.6%	170,000	28.0%
Canada	548,000	42.3%	490,000	37.8%	600,000	33.2%	534,000	29.6%

APPENDIX E: DEPTH OF POVERTY STATISTICS BY REGION, 1999

DEPTH OF POVERTY IN DOLLARS BELOW POVERTY LINE AND PERCENTAGE OF POVERTY LINE, BY REGION, 1999

FAMILY TYPE	Atlantic			Quebec			Ontario			West		
	Dollar Gap (\$)	% of Line	Dollar Gap	% of Line	Dollar Gap (\$)	% of Line	Dollar Gap (\$)	% of Line	Dollar Gap	% of Line	Pre Tax	Post-Tax
Unattached Women Under 65	6,806	4,907	53.9%	58.7%	8,710	6,035	47.9%	56.1%	7,797	5,733	52.7%	57.7%
Unattached Men Under 65	7,316	5,369	50.1%	54.6%	7,635	4,874	54.8%	65.0%	7,351	5,312	55.4%	60.7%
Single-Parent Mothers	7,051	3,958	68.3%	78.6%	8,766	5,556	64.5%	72.9%	8,900	5,626	65.1%	73.2%
Single-Parent Fathers	6,966	5,277	62.5%	62.3%	7,993	6,129	64.9%	67.5%	8,465	6,273	64.9%	67.6%
Couples Under 65 without Children	6,167	4,095	65.4%	70.4%	7,366	4,876	64.9%	71.0%	7,343	4,675	62.8%	69.7%
Couples Under 65 with Children	7,285	4,318	72.7%	80.2%	8,783	6,062	72.6%	77.3%	8,520	6,446	72.8%	74.8%
Unattached Women 65 and Over	2,042	582	86.0%	95.1%	3,587	1,874	78.9%	86.9%	3,268	1,394	81.0%	90.7%
Unattached Men 65 and Over	2,000	2,416	85.7%	77.0%	3,449	2,355	79.4%	83.2%	3,196	1,256	81.5%	91.2%
Couples 65 and Over	3,104	1,169	83.1%	93.1%	4,127	5,051	81.1%	71.9%	2,579	4,976	88.2%	72.4%

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE

Mr. John Murphy (Chairperson)
Canning, Nova Scotia

Ms. Doris Bernard	Radisson, Quebec
Ms. Judy Burgess	Victoria, British Columbia
Ms. Olive Crane	Mt. Stewart, Prince Edward Island
Ms. Anne Gill	Hay River, Northwest Territories
Ms. Miriam Green	Montreal, Quebec
Ms. Alice Hanson	Edmonton, Alberta
Ms. Allyce Herle	Regina, Saskatchewan
Mr. Al Kavanaugh	Riverview, New Brunswick
Mr. Greg deGroot-Maggetti	Kitchener, Ontario
Mr. David Northcott	Winnipeg, Manitoba
Ms. Marilyn Peers	Halifax, Nova Scotia
Ms. Shaunna Reid	Mount Pearl, Newfoundland
Mr. David Welch	Ottawa, Ontario

Interim Director (September 2001 to October 2002): Sheila Regehr

Director: Joanne Roulston

Senior Researcher: Olufunmilola (Lola) Fabowalé

Researcher: Diane Richard

Administration and Information Officer: Louise Gunville

Administrative Assistant: Claudette Mann

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE

The National Council of Welfare was established by the Government Organization Act, 1969, as a citizens' advisory body to the federal government. It advises the Minister of Human Resources Development on matters of concern to low-income Canadians.

The Council consists of members drawn from across Canada and appointed by the Governor-in-Council. All are private citizens and serve in their personal capacities rather than as representatives of organizations or agencies. The membership of the Council has included welfare recipients, public housing tenants and other low-income people, as well as educators, social workers and people involved in voluntary or charitable organizations.

Reports by the National Council of Welfare deal with a wide range of issues on poverty and social policy in Canada, including income security programs, welfare reform, medicare, poverty lines and poverty statistics, the retirement income system, taxation, labour market issues, social services and legal aid.

On peut se procurer des exemplaires en français de toutes les publications du Conseil national du bien-être social, en s'adressant au Conseil national du bien-être social, 9^e étage, 112, rue Kent, Ottawa, Ontario, K1A 0J9, sous notre site web au www.ncwcnbes.net ou sous forme de courrier électronique au ncw@magi.com.

